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PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION,

( CONCLUDED. )

MAY 6, 1842.

The Convention met, and Judge Underwood took the chair.

The President, presented to the Convention the following letter, from the Rev. J. N. M'Leod, a delegate from the New York City Colonization Society which was read.

*To the Convention of the " Friends of Colonization " in session in the City of Washington.*

GENTLEMEN:—The undersigned was appointed to attend your meeting, in behalf of the " Board of Managers " of the New York State Colonization Society, in company with Anson G. Phelps, Esq. and the Rev. Dr. Spring. The former gentleman has been prevented from appearing, and the latter was under the necessity of leaving the city, after the first evening of your deliberations. I regret that circumstances compel me also to leave town to day, and before I do so, I feel it due to the Convention, to express my hearty concurrence in the objects which they have in view, and in the proposals which have been under consideration the two past evenings, respecting the means of their accomplishment.

As I understand the objects of the Convention, they are, to enlist the aid of the federal and State governments in carrying out the plan of Colonization—to secure to the citizens of our own country the advantages of the African commerce, which is daily increasing in importance—and to destroy the infamous slave trade, by the substitution of a legitimate commerce in its place, as well as by the force of authority.

These are objects which are of surpassing importance to the destinies of two great continents, which, while they are separated by the ocean,

are united by their common relations to the colored race. And they ought to commend themselves to the heads, and hearts of every patriot and Christian in the land.

While I regret that the northern section of our country has been so imperfectly represented in the Convention, I have no fears for the results. The movement has been commenced in the right place, and those who have begun it so auspiciously, will find many in all parts of the Union, to co-operate with them in carrying it forward. The proposals of the Convention, are in their influence conservative of our Federal Union; they address themselves to the interests of our commercial men on the sea-board of the North and East, as well as the South; and they come home most powerfully to the common sympathies of our country for African wrongs and oppression. Certainly, then, I cannot be mistaken in saying, that the appeal of this Convention, made here at the seat of government, will meet with a hearty response in all other portions of our common country.

The New York Colonization Society holds its anniversary on the 11th instant, and I have great pleasure in hearing, that it is to be favored with the presence of the distinguished Secretary of the parent Society. Let him carry with him the proceedings of this Convention; and let him impart to those with whom he shall meet in the commercial metropolis, the generous enthusiasm which has animated your two past meetings, and the work will go on to a successful, and glorious accomplishment.

I am Gentlemen,

Most respectfully, yours,

WASHINGTON, *May 6, 1842.*

JOHN N. McLEOD.

On motion of the Hon. E. Whittlesey, this letter was referred to the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society.

In obedience to the resolution of the Convention adopted the last evening, Mr. Gurley submitted the following memorial to the several State Legislatures which had been prepared by the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society.

#### MEMORIAL.

The Convention of the friends of African Colonization assembled in Washington City respectfully represent, that, the American Colonization Society having been established near the close of the year 1816, by a respectable body of citizens from every section of this Union for the humane and philanthropic purpose (in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as might adopt regulations on the subject) of founding colonies of free persons of color, with their own consent on the coast of Africa, proceeded to explore that coast, purchase by fair negotiation with the native tribes an eligible tract of country, and assist such free persons of color as were disposed to emigrate in their removal and settlement in Africa.

Impressed with the difficulty and magnitude of the enterprise and the importance, if not absolute necessity of the countenance and aid of the Government, memorials were early addressed to Congress, and in consequence, sustained as they were, by the avowed opinion of the Legislatures of several States, measures were adopted by Congress for the more effectual suppression of the African slave trade, by its denunciation and

punishment as piracy, and authority was conferred upon the President of the United States to make such regulations and arrangements as he might deem expedient for the safe keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such Africans or persons of color as might be delivered and brought within their jurisdiction, and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving those persons of color "delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by the commanders of the United States armed vessels."

The then President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, perceiving that the benevolent provisions of this law for the benefit of the re-captured Africans might be most economically and effectually fulfilled, by securing a home for these persons within the limits and under the protection of such colony as might be founded by the efforts and donations of the members and friends of this Society, determined to act in co-operation with the Society in regard to the station to be chosen for the temporary or permanent (as might be) residence of such Africans, and when the Society had obtained possession, by purchase, of a portion of the tract of country in Africa, since designated by the name of Liberia, such persons were placed upon its soil, under the care of an agent of Government, with such means of subsistence and defence as might enable them ultimately to attain the advantages which it was the endeavor of the Society to secure to those voluntarily engaged, under their auspices, in the establishment of their colony.

Thus the Colony of Liberia rose into existence both as a home for the re-captured Africans restored by the humanity of our Government to their own country, and as a well organized community of free colored men, prepared and disposed to extend their useful arts, laws, civilization and Christianity, far abroad among the native population of Africa.

Animated by the idea that their scheme was equally patriotic and Christian, tending to unite the minds of our countrymen on subjects in reference to which differing and warring opinions are to be deprecated, engaging their thoughts and exertions in measures to remove, with their own consent, our free people of color, and such as may become free, from circumstances and influences that embarrass and depress, to those which stimulate, encourage and exalt, and which must enable them to secure for themselves and posterity a free, independent, national existence, where such an existence may prove with increasing power an element destructive of the atrocious slave trade, and of renovating moral and intellectual life to the barbarous and uncounted tribes and nations of Africa—from the shades of ignorance, from cruel and degrading superstitions, from wars, and their fruitful parent, that infamous commerce which annually, for centuries, has consigned vast numbers of its unoffending inhabitants, of all ages, both sexes, and of all conditions to slavery or death—to industry, to the arts and practices of civilized life, to lawful, profitable, and peaceful trade, and the inestimable privileges of law, letters, liberty and Christianity—stirred by these high considerations, this Society has proceeded, mostly by private means, in its great enterprise. Individuals from every State of our confederacy, of every political and religious opinion, the clergy and the churches of every name, have viewed the plan of the Society as of a character not only unexceptionable but of comprehensive benevolence, operating for good in all relations and directions, em-

bracing in its promised beneficence the interests of both the white and colored races in this country, and of the more numerous population of Africa.

The settlements of Liberia demonstrate the entire practicableness of the scheme. Though embracing but a few thousand emigrants, they exhibit on a distant and barbarous shore models of good government, of free institutions, of order, industry, civilized manners, and Christianity. Their jurisdiction extends along several hundred miles of coast, and the salutary influence of their example along the coast and into the interior still farther. They have legislative assemblies, courts of justice, schools and churches. But it must be recollected that these communities which have done so much for themselves, and so much to spread out the advantages of our civilization and religion before rude and heathen men, who have passed laws for the extirpation of the slave trade on every spot touched by their rightful authority, are of a people, who here enjoyed but very imperfect opportunities and inducements for improvement, who left us almost without means; many of them recently liberated slaves, and all going forth unfortified and unsustained by either national or State power, to found, in an untried climate, on the borders of a continent remote from civilized nations, a republican commonwealth and the Church of God. They have nobly effected their object. But their condition is one of weakness, of difficulty, of danger, demanding in the judgment of your memorialists, the sympathy, the immediate and generous support, not only of individuals, but of every State Legislature in the Union. To abandon, or even to neglect the communities of Liberia, at this time, when it is clear that all the great and beneficent ends proposed by their establishment may, and that by means which divided among the several States, or paid out of the common funds of the nation would affect injuriously no one interest of the country, and which will be more than repaid with interest by the advantages of African commerce to be secured through those settlements, would be not only a violation of solemn obligation to the people of these colonies, but a sacrifice of the important commercial interests of our country. Your memorialists have abundant evidence to show that these interests on the African coast are becoming of great value, and that to Africa we may look for a market of vast extent to some of our great staple productions, as well as for our manufactures, and that the returns will be in the palm oil, camwood, ivory, gold dust, and the precious gums, and other of the richest products of the most favored regions of the tropics.

It is necessary for your memorialists merely to allude to the various political, social and economical considerations, that should operate with wise and patriotic men, more especially in our southern, and to some extent in all the States of this great confederacy, to incline them to regard with favor the plan and policy of this Society. Nor is it important to consider how far in the progress of this scheme, there may arise some friendly co-operation between the General Government, whose peculiar province it is to foster and protect the commerce of the country and whose acknowledged duty to suppress the African slave trade, still depriving Africa every year of a half a million of her inhabitants, and the governments of the several States impelled by the combined considerations of interest and humanity to contribute to it their aid. To adopt the language of a former memorial, it is the duty of the Society to place the scheme in which they are engaged, before all, who have the power to accomplish it, and to trust that



the wisdom and patriotism of those to whom it is committed, will devise the most proper and effectual means for its success. And they prefer in earnestly soliciting for this enterprise the favor and pecuniary aid of the legislature which they have the honor to address, to dwell upon those elevating thoughts so well embodied in the language, slightly modified, of the first memorial ever submitted by this Society to the General Legislature of the Union. "Independently," said the President and Board of Managers at that time, "of the motives derived from political foresight and civil prudence, on the one hand, and from moral justice and philanthropy on the other, there are additional considerations and more expanded views to engage the sympathies and excite the ardor of a liberal and enlightened people. It may be reserved for this nation (the first to denounce an inhuman and abominable traffic, in the guilt and disgrace of which most of the civilized nations of the world were partakers) to become the honorable instrument under Divine providence, of conferring a still higher blessing upon that large and interesting portion of mankind, benefitted by that deed of justice; by demonstrating that a race of men, composing numerous tribes, spread over a continent of vast and unexplored extent, fertility and riches, unknown to the enlightened nations of antiquity, and who had yet made no progress in the refinements of civilization, for whom history has preserved no monuments of arts or arms, that even this hitherto ill-fated race, may cherish the hope of beholding the orient star revealing the best and highest aims and attributes of man. Out of such materials, to rear the glorious edifice of well ordered and polished society, upon the deep and sure foundations of equal laws and diffusive education, would give a sufficient title to be enrolled among the illustrious benefactors of mankind; whilst it afforded a precious and consolatory evidence of the all prevailing power of liberty, enlightened by knowledge and corrected by religion. If the experiment in its more remote consequences, should ultimately tend to the diffusion of similar blessings through those vast regions and unnumbered tribes, yet obscured in primeval darkness, reclaim the rude wanderer from a life of wretchedness to civilization and humanity; and convert the blind idolater from gross and abject superstition, to the holy charities, the sublime morality, and humanizing discipline of the Gospel—the nation, or individual that shall have taken the most conspicuous lead in achieving the benevolent enterprise, will have raised a monument of that true and imperishable glory, founded in the moral approbation and gratitude of the human race; unapproachable to all but the elected instruments of divine beneficence—a glory, with which the most splendid achievements of human force or power must sink in the competition, and appear insignificant and vulgar in the comparison. And above all should it be considered, that the nation or the individual, whose energies have been faithfully given to this august work, will have secured, by this exalted beneficence, the favor of that Being whose compassion is over all his works, and whose unspeakable rewards will never fail bless to the humblest effort to do good to his creatures.

The Colony of Cape Palmas, is a conclusive evidence of what a single state, and by an appropriation of a few thousand dollars annually can accomplish, in this *cause*. A prosperous Colony of about six hundred emigrants has risen, with all the order and institutions of a well organized Society, under the fostering care of the Legislature of Maryland, and citizens of this state at the cost of less than the establishment of a single plantation of the South.

But it is vain to expect, that either the various interesting settlements scattered along an extended line of coast, under the care of the parent society, and opening a rich and inviting territory for the possession and home of our free colored population or the settlement at Cape Palmas, can prosper, maintain themselves against the adverse influences of great power, with which they are contending, effect the high purposes for which they have been planted, unless their numbers shall by emigration, be augmented, and increased funds be supplied by the bounty of individuals, the States, or the nations. An annual appropriation for the present of even ten thousand dollars, from the Legislature of each State with the aids which may be anticipated in the Union from the donations of benevolence would throw a new light of hope and cheerfulness over the settlements of Liberia, and give assurance that Africa herself must rise from ruin to stand in honor and power among the nations of the world.

On motion of Governor Morehead this memorial was adopted and it was ordered that a copy thereof be forwarded to each Legislature of the United States for the purpose of being brought, forthwith, to the attention of all of them.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Gurley on the evening of the first meeting of the convention having been read seriatim, it was determined to consider them separately.

The first resolution was adopted without amendment.

The second resolution being under consideration, at the suggestion of Mr. Key the clause "was designed to be a National Institution" was stricken out, and the clause "as they may deem consistent with their constitutional powers and duty" was added at the close of the resolution, so that as finally adopted, it reads thus:

*Resolved*, That this Society, in the prosecution of its exclusive object, the Colonization with their consent of the free people of color, residing in in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, being required by the terms of its constitution, to act in co-operation with the General Government, or such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject, may justly look for such measure of support from the Federal and other Governments of the country as they may deem consistent with their constitutional powers and duty."

The third and fourth resolutions were adopted without amendment.

The fifth resolution was, at the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Hawley and with the assent of the mover, amended by striking out the words "if not threatened with extinction" so that it reads as follows:

*Resolved*, That at this time, when our country is agitated by conflicting opinions on the subject of our colored population; when Africa is deprived annually, by the most cruel commerce of nearly or quite half a million of her inhabitants; when thousands are turning their thoughts and hearts to Liberia as a small and attractive Christian state, looking forth to animate our hopes of the redemption of the most degraded and afflicted portion of the world, when this Colony is exposed to danger, we are urged by the highest and most affecting considerations that ever roused patriotic

and Christian men to action, to adopt a national policy, that shall tend to unite our own citizens, benefit our colored population, overthrow the slave trade and bless enduringly two races of men, and two of the largest quarters of the globe."

The sixth resolution was adopted, without amendment.

The seventh resolution was modified by the substitution of the word "Colonies" for "Colony" of Liberia, so that it reads :

"*Resolved*, That it should be deeply impressed upon the public mind, that both as auxiliary and protective to the interests of American commerce on the African coast, and as a means for the extinction of the slave trade, the Colonies of Liberia are of incalculable importance, and deserve the vigorous and generous support of this nation."

All the other resolutions in the series offered by Mr. Gurley were then adopted unanimously.

Mr. Gurley then rose and said, that he had just seen announced in the papers the decease of an aged, venerable and generous friend of the American Colonization Society, the Hon. Elijah Paine, late Judge of the District Court of the United States in Vermont. For many years had this excellent man labored in the cause and for the children of Africa, and but recently had given, out of his own means, one thousand dollars to the Colonization Society. It was to his exertions, in great part, that money continued to flow, annually, into the Society's Treasury from the State of Vermont. It was hardly a month since he (Mr. Gurley,) had received a letter from him evincing his unabated zeal and attachment to the great objects of the Society. Feeling, therefore, that the cause had experienced no common loss in the death of this venerable individual, he begged leave to submit the following resolution which he believed would be cordially approved by every member of the Convention :

"*Resolved*, That this Convention has heard with profound grief and regret of the decease of the Hon. Elijah Paine, President of the Vermont Colonization Society, one of the earliest, ablest and most munificent benefactors of this institution."

This resolution was passed unanimously.

The Hon. H. L. Ellsworth and the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey made some very important statements and remarks in relation to numerous and affecting letters received by the Executive Committee of which they were members, and the pressing pecuniary wants of the Society, in order to assist more than two hundred emigrants now ready and anxious to emigrate to Liberia.

The Rev. Mr. Bulfinch commenced his remarks by saying that he rose in compliance with a request addressed to him just before the commencement of the present meeting, and should therefore present such thoughts as had occurred with but little preparation. He thought that the cause of Colonization had suffered from being viewed too exclusively in connection with that of emancipation in this country. On this subject he should say but little, for two reasons. It seemed to him unnecessary to connect the cause before the Convention with the exciting topic adverted to. The object of the Colonization Society was in their constitution stated to be, the settlement of the *free co-*

lored people upon the coast of Africa with their own consent. Emancipation, then, was not included as part of the object of the Society's efforts. True, members of the Society and others might form their own opinions about the ultimate result of their labors; they might come to different conclusions on the subject without exposing the Society itself justly to the charge of inconsistency. But another reason he had for regarding the Colonization cause, in his present remarks, in those points of view which were distinct from the question of abolition, was, that should he enter on that question, his own views might be found at variance with some which had been expressed by other speakers. He desired rather to occupy that common ground, on which all the friends of the cause could meet. And was not this common ground sufficient? Two grand objects were legitimately and without objection on the part of any, within the contemplation of the Society, as the result of its labors. One was, the suppression of the slave trade; the other, the civilization and conversion of Africa. Are not two such objects enough, without uniting with them any other, to render this the noblest undertaking that ever demanded the energies of the philanthropist and the Christian? The suppression of that trade which been had for centuries the disgrace of civilized man, and the raising of a mighty continent to participation in the blessings of intellectual, moral and religious light,—were not these sufficient? What mind so vast, what philanthropy so capacious, that these could not fill?

To these two objects, then, in the accomplishment of which the Colonization Society might bear its part, he should confine his remarks. And first, with regard to the slave trade. Who had not heard the melancholy tale of the sufferings endured by its unhappy victims? The internal wars of Africa; the thousands of lives lost in combat; the severing the prisoners from their country and their home; their loathsome confinement by hundreds in the crowded slave ship; the lives lost during that dreadful passage; the murders perpetrated to conceal the character of the vessel, or to lighten her of her load. Who had not heard of these? Yet these horrors still continued, though so long the indignation of the Christian world had been directed against them.

Many years ago, before any other power had declared against this shameful traffic, one great nation, our own, our beloved country, had uttered her voice and denounced it in the name of humanity. She then had stood proudly eminent, in the station that became her, as the great republic of modern times, amid the admiration of the civilized world. But years have passed by, and we survey another scene. That unhallowed traffic still continues, and nation is calling unto nation to put it down. The world has become sensible of the disgrace which humanity has too long endured. In the time-worn monarchies of Europe, the impulse is felt, and noble sentiments, first uttered here, meet with a response in every cabinet there; and the action taken in the cause shows that warm human feelings can glow beneath the purple on the breast of kings. And now one nation holds back;—one nation alone seems ready to declare that her inviolable flag shall screen the miscreant whom she was herself the first to denounce as a pirate. Our country! shall this be so? No! we trust, indeed, we know, that the subject of the right of search will be settled in a manner which shall in every point of view maintain our nation's honor. But there needs more than this. Not only should the United States give their assent to the measures adopted by the rest of the civilized world in this great

cause. They should take the lead. They should resume that station which long since they claimed. Our Colony on the African coast should be made the centre of active operations on the part of our naval force against the robbers of the sea; while by its influence exerted inland, it destroyed at once the facilities for the unhallowed traffic and the wish to engage in it; substituting an honorable commerce for the horrors that had hitherto existed, and the spirit of Christianity, the spirit of love, for that savage thirst for gain that has led the miserable natives, for ages past, to make merchandise of their brethren.

While on the subject of the slave trade, he would relate an anecdote told him a few days since by a gentleman of this city, illustrating the manner in which the laws of our country had been evaded by some unworthy citizens. Some years since, the gentleman referred to had visited one of the Spanish islands. While he was there, an American vessel arrived, with an American captain and an American crew. They disposed of their cargo; and then a nominal sale took place; the American papers were deposited with the consul, and papers from the authorities of the island procured, and the vessel, now denationalized proceeded on a slaving voyage to the coast of Africa, in charge of a Spanish captain. And who was the captain? A boy, fourteen years of age, who was hired at so much per week to give his powerful protection in making piracy legal.

But besides the suppression of the slave trade, there remained another object, and one which might well engage all the energies of Christian philanthropy. The undertaking of African Colonization was emphatically a missionary undertaking. And what might be the success of Christian missionaries there, when the spirit in which the enterprise was carried on, should come to be known and appreciated among the inhabitants of the coast? It had been his pleasure, a short time since, to listen to an address from a most intelligent man, a chief of the Choctaw tribe of Indians. He had heard with surprise of the advances made by that and other tribes, in Christian education and the arts of civilized life. The idea was now refuted, that it was impossible to Christianize and enlighten Indians. It had been effected; and tribes, savage but a short time since, were now with joy receiving the glad tidings of the kingdom of God. But in addressing the Indians, the missionary had everything against him. The white man had come among them, of a different race from their own; he had waged war against them; he had appeared sometimes as a wrathful conqueror, at other times as a tempter, beguiling and corrupting them by his intoxicating draught. The Indian looked upon the white man as his foe; and often would he tauntingly reply to the exhortations of the missionary, by telling him to teach his own brethren justice and forbearance, before he came to enforce the lessons of his religion upon the red man. Yet had the missionary won his way, and savage tribes were bending to the sceptre of the Savior. In what a different aspect will Christian influences approach the benighted myriads of Africa. The colonists appear, not as conquerors, but as brethren, of the same race as those whom they strive to enlighten. And while inviting them to the reception of the white man's faith, they are themselves the monuments of the white man's mercy and justice. It is in the voice of Christian sympathy and love that America addresses Africa, long and deeply injured Africa. We call on her children to abandon that horrible traffic in which the merchandise has been their brethren's flesh and blood. We too, we tell them, have sinned in this thing,—not

like you, for we sold not our own fellow-countrymen and those of our own race, to strangers; but we have sinned. And now we come to you, and we bring to you these your brethren, whom we have liberated, and for whom we have purchased from you this home on your shore. We bring you that sacred book from which we have learned thus to do. It is the law of love, the law of God. Your soil is already hallowed as the resting place of some, who have died willing martyrs to your good and to the promulgation of this great law. Here rests the heroic ASHMUN, here rests BUCHANAN, here rest others who like them have given their lives for the glory of God and the good of man. These are the pledges of our sincerity. We have given of our substance,—we have given you of the lives of the most valued among us, that we might atone for the wrongs of Africa, that we might win this continent for Christ." Mr. President, can such an appeal be unheeded? Can the moral influence of this noble enterprise fail to aid, most powerfully, the direct efforts of the missionary in diffusing through that neglected and unhappy land, the blessings of civilization, and of true and pure religion?

Mr. Key moved an adjournment to Monday evening at half past seven o'clock, and also that a Committee be appointed to obtain the use of a suitable church for Sunday evening, and for securing at that time a general meeting of the friends of the cause from the several churches in the city, in order to spread its wants before them, and obtain their contributions for its relief. Messrs. Key, Gurley and Seaton were appointed on this Committee.

The Convention then adjourned until Monday evening at half past seven o'clock.

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*May 9th 1842.*

The Convention met, at the hour appointed, in the Rev. Mr. Rich's church 4½ street when the Hon. Mr. Underwood resumed the chair. Mr. Gurley made a few observations, and was followed by the Rev. Mr. Clark, of Washington City, who expressed in a very pertinent and impressive manner his convictions that much aid would be secured to the Society, were the clergy generally informed of many interesting facts that had been submitted to the Convention. He thought they might properly be called on, to preach each of them, a sermon on the subject of African Colonization, and to show how vitally the scheme was connected with all the great interests of Africa. He moved a resolution which after having been, on motion of the Rev. Mr. Hawley, (who alluded to the fact of his suggestion years ago that the 4th of July would be a most appropriate time for collections for this Society) slightly modified, was adopted as follows:

“*Resolved*, That the Society be instructed to prepare a circular embodying the most important facts relative to the present condition and wants of the Society, and send the same to the different clergymen throughout the United States, with the request that a discourse be preached to their

respective societies, and a collection be taken up about the 4th of July next, or at such time as may be most convenient to the clergy respectively, in aid of the funds of the American Colonization Society."

Mr. Gurley said that in compliance with a suggestion of his friend Mr. Key, he had embodied in the form of a resolution the idea of personal individual exertions for the cause—a matter of special, of immense importance, for in truth, the very life of the cause depended upon the personal efforts of its friends. He then submitted the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That this Convention are deeply impressed with the great necessity, at the present time, of personal exertions on the part of the friends of the American Colonization Society, to extend its influence and especially to increase its resources, and that every friend of the institution be earnestly requested to make collections for its benefit, and transmit the amount to the Society."

Mr. Key then read the following resolution :

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare and present a memorial to Congress, recommending such measures to be taken for the protection of the colonies now established on the African coast, the promotion of American commerce on that coast, and the suppression of the slave trade, as the national legislature may approve."

In sustaining this resolution, Mr. Key said :

He should not detain the Convention longer than would be necessary to show what measures might be asked and expected from Congress in relation to the subjects mentioned in the resolution, and some of the important consequences that would result from their adoption.

All would agree that nothing should be asked, or could be expected, from Congress, that was not plainly within the constitutional limits of their powers and duties. The action of Congress is to be solicited in the memorial contemplated by the resolution, in behalf of three objects : The protection and promotion of American commerce on the coast of Africa—the suppression of the slave trade—and the protection of the colonies now established on that coast.

That the power of Congress extended to the first of these objects, the protection of our commerce, everywhere, was shown in the plain words of the Constitution. It was equally plain that it would be a duty Congress would never hesitate to discharge, whenever protective measures should seem to be necessary or proper.

All he had to show, therefore, under this head was, that protection and encouragement, are now necessary and proper to be extended, to our trade on that coast.

Those who had the gratification of hearing the very interesting statements of Dr. Hall in relation to African commerce, made during the Convention, could not doubt that those statements alone, coming from a highly respectable and intelligent gentleman, personally acquainted with the trade, and the facts he stated, would enable the Convention to make out a strong case, justifying and requiring the action of our Government, by the adoption of the usual and proper measures for protecting and fostering a commerce now presenting great inducements to American capital and enterprise.

To the representations of Dr. Hall could also be added much additional evidence, to the same effect, derived from recent and authentic sources, and confirmed by all the discoveries which had been made of the population, productions and resources of that great and long hidden continent.

We shall thus be enabled to show that a population estimated at 150,000,000

is to be found upon that quarter of the globe. That they inhabit a country, unsurpassed by no other portion of the earth in the fertility of its soil, the excellence of its climate, and the richness and variety of its products, and that it is intersected by mighty rivers, inviting the commerce of the world to its most interior recesses.

We might conclude even with less information than this, that the great Creator of the earth had not left this portion of his work unblest with the abundant means which his bountiful hand dispenses everywhere else, for the sustenance and comfort of man, and to invite distant nations to meet together, as the members of a common family, in the interchanges of a peaceful and civilizing commerce.

And we now know that it is so. Light has pierced into the thick darkness that has long enveloped that outcast continent, and the treasures and blessings of a benignant Providence are seen to smile in all her plains and wave in all her forests.

It is true this fair creation of God has been marred by the wickedness of man. A trade abominable and detestable beyond all epithets that can be given to it, at the very name of which the blood curdles, and no man hears it, who

—“ Having human feelings, does not blush  
And hang his head, to think himself a man,”

has long desolated Africa, and disgraced the world.

This trade has been stamped with the double curse of offended Heaven—curse to the givers and receivers of the guilty traffic—to Africa, in the wretchedness, rapine and murder of her children, and to her rapacious tempters in innumerable, just and fearful retributions.

The wrath of God has been manifested at this crying iniquity on the blood-stained borders of all her coasts, where the angry elements are let loose against this inhuman trade. What is the stormy cloud that darkens these infested shores, but the frown of the Almighty? What the fierce tornado, but the blasting of the breath of his displeasure?

It is true that, under this curse, Africa has long groaned and bled, and many a fair field and happy village and crowded town has been made a wilderness. It is true she is still an awful sufferer. Even now, while we are speaking of her wrongs, some distant and peaceful hamlet, hitherto beyond the reach of the spoiler, hidden and hoped to be secured by intervening forests, has been hunted out and surrounded, and its sleep awakened by the shout of ruffians.

But these horrors will have an end. The dawning of a better day appears. These wronged and wretched out-casts will be brought back into the family of nations. The crimes that warring elements and fearful visitations and judgments could not restrain shall have a conqueror. Man shall be honored as the instrument in accomplishing this work of mercy. Man's heart shall be softened and humanized; and glowing with love to God and man, go forth on this errand of compassion. Thus the virtue and benevolence of man shall repair the outrages committed by the inhumanity of man. The trade that has wasted and debased Africa shall be banished by a trade that shall enlighten and civilize her, and re-people her solitary places with her restored children. And Africa, thus redeemed and rescued from her curse, and the world from its reproach, shall

“ Vindicate the ways of God to man.”

Already has this unhappy race been brought to see that they can participate in the commerce of the world without crime and misery—that providence has blessed their land with abundant resources—that instead of offering their wretched and plundered brethren in exchange for the commodities of other climes, they have enough in the rich productions of their own soil, to invite the trade of all nations to their shores. There are now on the coast of Africa, nations who no longer trade in human beings. There are now hundreds of miles on that coast where this awful trade has ceased; where hun-



dreds and thousands of peaceful natives hear no more the signal gun of their cruel spoilers, tempting the strong to violence and rapine, and filling the weak with terror. In the place of that trade that laid waste their country and debased their people, checking every effort of industry, stifling every virtuous impulse, and exciting to every vice, a lawful and humanizing commerce has been substituted, and under its influence, the African is rising from his degradation to his true rank and condition as a man, and rejoices in the labors and pursuits of a peaceful and happy life. There has been no difficulty in effecting this change wherever proper means have been used to accomplish it. The portions of that ill-fated continent thus delivered are gradually extending their limits. These bright spots are diffusing their light over the surrounding darkness. The trade thus established, though originating in motives of humanity that have been richly rewarded, has now assumed a fixed course and character, and offers all the ordinary inducements of mutual profit to commercial intercourse. Nothing has been more interesting in the progress of this Convention than the information laid before it, particularly that derived from Dr. Hall, of the present state, the rapidly increasing extent and importance and boundless prospects of this legitimate African commerce.

Mr. Key here referred to the answers of Dr. Hall, and other recent publications, and showed the value and inexhaustible amount of many of the productions of that continent, and their importance to the other parts of the world, and the advantages of having so vast a market opened for the products and manufactures of our country. He also showed the profitable nature and extent of the trade even at present; how rapidly it had increased within a short period, and how necessarily that increase must continue.

He adverted to the immense demand for trade goods in Africa now supplied by the slave trade, of which increasing portions every year would fall into the course of this commerce. How that demand would increase as the slave trade disappeared, (he said,) was obvious. What would be its extent and importance to the rest of the world, when that vast continent, freed from its desolating scourge, should reward the labor and enterprise of a reclaimed, civilized, and increasing population, no human imagination could conceive. As no limits could be assigned to its demands, so none could be set to the extent, variety and richness of her returns. The spontaneous productions of her boundless and neglected forests alone, filled with innumerable and valuable dye-woods, and the majestic Palm, the ancient and acknowledged symbol of fertility would furnish the richest subject of commerce for ages. But when a trade like this shall have enlightened all her coasts, and the borders and sources of all her rivers, when Africa shall retain and nurture and enrich her children, and they shall repay her maternal care by all the culture that civilization and a pure and peaceful religion shall have taught them, who can tell what shall be her place and name among the nations of the earth?

He had then (he-trusted) shown the clearest and strongest case for the action of the General Government.

A trade of considerable extent and importance already in operation—rapidly increasing—and opening prospects the most inviting to commercial enterprise. Laying aside all consideration of the great consequences to be accomplished by it in the rescue of a wretched and oppressed race, and the gratification of the purest and best feelings of our nature, and regarding it only as a matter of trade, for its gains, and who could hesitate to say that here was a branch of American commerce, deserving and demanding both protection and encouragement.

How these are to be afforded, it is for the wisdom of Congress to determine. The Convention has heard what will enable it to show the necessity of doing something, that shall enable our citizens to participate equally with those of other nations in a trade that promises to be profitable to all, and that shall assure to such as may engage in it, the same advantages that are extended to other branches of our national commerce.

The resolution recommends another and kindred subject as proper to be presented to the consideration of Congress. This is the African slave trade.

If this abomination was now for the first time to be brought before Congress, there could be no doubt of its power to entertain it, from its necessary connexion with the subject already spoken of: For it is emphatically the enemy of lawful commerce, as it is of every thing else beneficial and honorable to man. Its direct tendency is to close up ports that should be free and open markets to the vessels of all nations, and to fill the seas, the great and common highway of all, with lawless plunderers and pirates.

But it is not now for the first time to present itself to the legislation of our national councils. The American Congress has the acknowledged honor of being the first to take away the sanctions of law from its pursuits; the first to denounce its inhumanity, and fix upon it the brand and punishment of piracy, and the first to propose, by the common consent of nations, that the slave trader should be subject every where to seizure and punishment, as the enemy of the human race.

Mr. Key here referred to the various acts and resolutions of Congress, the address of the British Parliament to the Prince Regent of 9 July, 1819, the Report of the African Institution of England, the correspondence between Mr. Adams and Mr. Canning in 1823, and particularly the resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States of 8 March, 1823, by which "the President of the United States was requested to enter upon, and to prosecute from time to time such negotiations with the several maritime nations of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the law of nations, by the consent of the civilized world."

He also referred to the declarations and proceedings, and great and continued efforts of the British Government to suppress this trade, particularly to the treaty Madrid of 22 September 1819, by which Spain consented to the immediate abolition of the trade North of the Equator, and promised its entire abolition after 1829; for which concession the British Government paid the sum of £400,000 sterling.

Here (he said) we had the gratification of seeing that the great and proud land of our ancestors, had zealously and powerfully seconded the declarations and acts of our government for the suppression of this crime. The efforts of England to accomplish this great object have been most costly and unceasing. Under the influence of a just and laudable humanity and a wise policy, she has ever persevered in her war upon this trade. Mr. Wilberforce, the best and greatest of her Statesmen, in 1818, in a speech in the House of commons, upon the Spanish treaty, speaking of the sum paid to Spain for acceding to the abolition of the trade, said "he could not but think that the grant to Spain would be more than repaid to Great Britain in commercial advantage by the opening of a great continent to British industry—an object which would be entirely defeated if the slave trade was to be carried on by the Spanish nation."

Thus, it appears, that two of the greatest maritime nations have long since decreed the destruction of this infamous traffic, and pledged themselves to the world for its accomplishment. Nothing therefore can be more in accordance with the declared will of the American people, nor within the admitted sphere of action of their Representatives, than to invite their attention to the interesting subject on which they have thus spoken and acted: and lay before them the information this Convention has obtained in relation to the present state and circumstances of this trade.

And nothing can be more opportune than such a consideration of this subject now. It seems a design of Providence that the two great nations, who have united in the noble and holy resolution of effacing this foul blot from the face of the earth, should be brought together, in amicable conference, to determine what remains to be done to accomplish what they have vowed.

Let us then present this subject to our people and their representatives—and to the people and representatives of a nation, as willing and ready as our own, to co-operate in this great work—let us show them,

How it is, that the slave trade has not been abolished—

And how it may be abolished.

The slave trade, though thus denounced, and thus warred upon, has not been abolished!

Nay, it is worse—it has not been diminished! It is still worse—it has increased—and increased in every way—in extent, and in atrocity. We can refer to calculations recently and reasonably made, from facts well accredited, in England, to show that the extent of the trade is greater than ever. It is thus shown that this pestilential crime now sweeps from Africa, every year, upwards of half a million of her people!

We can show also, from sources equally authentic, that the horrors attendant upon this unnatural and wanton waste of human life, are far more terrible than were ever seen, or could have been expected, even in the perpetrators of this hardening and brutifying traffic.

It is now a fearful and horrid process, carried on under the constant dread of pursuit, in sharp fast sailing vessels, with the malice and fury of fiends. The wretched victims are wedged together in the foul and close recesses of these prisons, with scarcely space enough to each for the heart to swell in the agony of its despair. The very slave traders of former days would be shocked to look into the hold of a modern slave ship. If, in the days of Clarkson and Wilberforce, when the pictures of the interior of the vessels then in use, roused the indignation of their countrymen, a slave trader of that day could have been shown the representations now given of vessels recently captured by British cruisers, and he could have been told that the cruelty of his trade would ever reach such a measure of enormity, he would have indignantly repelled such an intimation, and said—

“Am I a dog that I should do such things?”

Mr. K. then referred to the documents and official statements and estimates in the late work of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton—and to papers in the same and other publications, showing the present course and state of the slave trade, and the inefficiency of the means used for its abolition.

We are thus constrained to say that all this strong desire and these strenuous and persevering efforts had accomplished nothing—that over all this opposition, the slave trade had achieved an impious and awful triumph. So manifest is this, that the humane author to which he had referred, in the conclusion of his great and benevolent work, admits that it is “better to do nothing than to go on, year after year, at great cost, adding to the disasters and inflaming the wounds of Africa.”

The means then, that have been used, have failed—utterly failed—and even, if nothing else can be done, had better be abandoned. Better let the spoiler seize his prey, without inflaming his cupidity and his cruelty by opposition—better let him bear it away slowly and securely, than give him, by pursuit, temptations to torture, and the plea of its necessity.

What have these means been?

Treaties and stipulations with the nations whose shores are still polluted by the reception of this impious merchandize of human beings. Treaties and stipulations, bought and paid for, solemnly engaging to prohibit and prevent these importations, and yet utterly disregarded. In some places perhaps attempted, vainly and by insufficient means, to be enforced, in others connived at, in others openly and shamefully permitted, in all, the demand and the supply as great if not greater, than ever.

In the same work to which he had already referred were to be seen in the Reports of the British Commissioners, and the despatches and correspondence of Lord Palmerston, and other official documents, the clearest evidence of the want of will, or the want of power, or both, in the officers of Spain and Portugal, and some of the South American States to fulfil the stipulations they have made, to stop the importation of slaves within their territories.

So manifest is this, that Lord Palmerston stated in 1838, in a letter to Sir G. Villiers, that "no reliance can be placed upon any of the subordinate authorities of the Spanish Government, either in the colonies, or in Spain herself, for the due execution of the laws of Spain, and of the treaties for the suppression of the slave trade." And Sir T. Buxton in his very recent work "declares his conviction that the trade will never be suppressed by this system"—that "its enormous gains will defeat it."

This measure, then, of negotiating treaties with the nations into whose territories slaves are introduced, has failed.

Can any thing be done to make it more effectual? England, with whom these treaties have been made, has the right to enforce their fulfilment. She may make their infraction cause of war; and her power might enable her alone to prosecute such a war successfully. But unless similar treaties could be made with other nations, they could have no such right of interference in the internal concerns of other states. Could our country and the other civilized nations obtain, by commercial advantages, or otherwise, similar treaties, so that the voice, and if need be, the arms of all the civilized world could be brought to bear on these States, then success might be expected.

There are great difficulties in the way of such a scheme, perhaps, at present, impracticable. But we may hope that a time may come when the nations now allowing these importations may be induced, by motives of humanity and interest, to enter into such engagements. It must, no doubt, to be just, be voluntary. And other nations, from the same motives, and seeing the importance of opening the African trade to themselves and to the world, may find adequate inducements to such negotiations. Till then, these means cannot be available.

Another measure resorted to, and most earnestly prosecuted by the British Government, is the pursuit and capture of slave vessels on the ocean. Something has, no doubt, been effected by these means. Many vessels have been captured, and many slaves delivered. But the number compared with that of those that have escaped, has been insignificant. And it is now seen and admitted that no sensible diminution of the trade can be expected from any force, and any vigilance that are brought to arrest it on the ocean. the amount, of what is thus restrained, being far less than the increase arising from the continually increasing cupidity with which it is prosecuted.

All this (he said) was manifested by the reports of the British Governors and officers on the coast collected by Sir Thomas Buxton: and that writer expresses unreservedly his despair of seeing any thing effectual accomplished, unless other measures are adopted. This has been no surprise to those whose opinions on this subject were formed from correct information of the state and course of the trade. One of the earliest movements of the American Colonization Society, was to send two intelligent gentlemen to visit and explore the coast of Africa, and obtain all necessary information of the circumstances under which the trade was conducted, and of the habits and dispositions of the natives. The journal of this interesting voyage by Mr. Mills and the information given by his worthy associate, Mr. Burgess, accord remarkably with the views now presented in Sir Thomas Buxton's book, and the answers and explanations made to the Convention by Dr. Hall. In their third annual Report in 1821, the Society expressed their decided conviction that the slave trade could never be suppressed

by action on the ocean, but could only be extirpated by operations on the land, where it originated, and the same opinion has been often since expressed in subsequent Reports. Experience has shown that these opinions were correct, and the persons best informed upon the subject, now, with one voice, acknowledge the inefficiency of these means of prevention.

It is plain therefore that the two great nations, united in a common declaration of extermination against the slave trade, must adopt other and more decisive means of operation, than those heretofore exerted.

The question now is—what shall these means be?

It is perhaps worthy of consideration, whether both these nations cannot devise some legislative restraints upon the indirect aid and facilities afforded by some of their citizens, to the commerce of the slave traders. In our country it is believed are the principal builders of the vessels of the slave traders. In England, as shown by Sir Thomas Buxton, a very large proportion, if not almost all, of the trade goods, and the utensils and implements of the trade, used by the slavers, are manufactured. The sales of such goods and implements and vessels, if innocently made, in ignorance of the use for which they were intended, could not be restrained; and it would be difficult, if not impossible, in most cases, to affect the manufacturers with the knowledge of the use for which they were purchased. It is evident that, though some degree of restraint might be thus imposed upon the trade, nothing decisive or permanent could be expected from such legislation. Something far beyond this is necessary to accomplish the object.

What that is, we cannot now reasonably doubt. A clear and most unanimous opinion, founded upon long experience and undoubted facts, has been pronounced by British Governors and officers long familiar with the coast of Africa, the situation and disposition of the natives, and the operations of those engaged in the trade. A humane and intelligent association in England with Sir T. Buxton at its head, has been investigating this subject for years, and has now given to the world the result of its labors. Many of our citizens, who for upwards of twenty years past have directed their attention to the same objects; and naval officers and agents of our Government, who have been upon the coast, have on frequent occasions expressed their views upon the subject.

These all concur in designating the true remedy for the evil that has so long baffled all other efforts: and it has every quality that seems necessary to justify the strongest hopes of its success.

It seeks not to lop off the branches that may be within our reach, but strikes at the root of the evil. It assails the trade, where it begins, on the soil of Africa; not on the ocean, where it has the means of escape. It depends not on catching flying purchasers who may escape, but stops the sale, so that there may be no purchasers. If it can create such a state of things in Africa, that there shall be no market for slaves there, the object is accomplished.

Such a state of things can only be created by opening another market, by the substitution of another trade.

*Commerce, Civilization and Colonization*, each introducing the other, each promoted by, and promoting each other, working together in concert to offer to the natives the supplies they need, and showing them that they can be had for prices far short of the blood and misery heretofore demanded for them. Showing them that their forests and fields present all around them, and to all, abundant means of payment—that they should prefer the certain products of peaceful labor to the sad chances of intestine war.

That the wretched natives of that continent would be influenced by such inducements, and were prepared to receive this substitute for the trade which now stimulates them to mutual violence and slaughter, is proved by the evidence of those just referred

to, by the circumstances attending the trade, and by the success which has already attended the efforts to effect such changes among them.

The coast of Africa is peopled by a belt of feeble and distinct kingdoms, easily accessible to the influence of those who will bring trade to them of any description, and easily awed by the appearance of naval force. On those parts of the coast where they have discontinued the slave trade, a great and rapidly increasing improvement has taken place in their condition and habits, and they are now engaged in procuring the products of their country, and availing themselves of the advantages of commerce. Where the slave trade still prevails, they are the factors or agents between the interior kings, who drive down their gangs of slaves, and the slave ships. This intermediate agency is necessary to the trade. The great mass of slaves is driven down from considerable distances in the interior, to the chiefs or kings upon the coast, where they are kept in large receptacles, by thousands, where many of them perish. These places are known to the slavers in the vessels as they pass along the coast, who communicate by signals with the shore, and take off their cargoes.

It would therefore only be necessary to operate upon these nations on the coast. If they abandon the trade, the supply from the interior ceases.

There are several very interesting statements quoted in Sir T. Buxton's book from the Governors of the British settlements on the coast, particularly those of Col. Nicholls and Governor Turner, shewing the ease with which arrangements can be made with those Chiefs for the abolition of the slave trade, and the introduction of lawful commerce. The concurring statements and opinions of Dr. Hall the Convention has heard. But the proof exhibited by the success that has attended all the attempts of this nature, made in the neighborhood of the civilized settlements on the coast, is conclusive. Thus, for several hundred miles of coast, the slave trade has ceased: and this change has been effected by treaties, and sometimes by the destruction of the factories and establishments of the foreign miscreants, the outcasts of all nations, engaged in every species of lawless violence and plunder.

The natives are now enjoying the advantages of this change, and the great and obvious improvement in their condition cannot fail to attract the attention of the adjacent population; and there is no reason to doubt that the whole Western coast may, by proper efforts, be soon delivered from this scourge, and made to exhibit the same improvement.

Under the influence of these encouraging prospects the British Government has already commenced this course of proceeding. Thus originated her expedition to explore the Niger, of the unfortunate failure of which, we have all heard.

We are now negotiating with her, on the subject of the suppression of the slave trade and discussing questions about the Right of Search. How it is to result, he, of course, could not pretend to conjecture. But one thing he could say, and appeal to British authority, of the most unquestionable character, to prove it—that it was a matter of little or no moment to the slave traders how it resulted. It would not sensibly affect their trade. It would do nothing with those that were not discovered; nor with those that, though discovered, could not be caught. And we all know that the trade is so managed as to provide well for both these ways of escape. It is moreover no new expedient. The British cruisers, for several years, have exercised it to a greater extent in relation to vessels under our flag, than it is now asked, and it has proved ineffectual.

We may then safely conclude that, whatever our Government may say to the application now pending, something far beyond any arrangement the two Governments may make upon this subject, must be done, if they desire to abolish the trade. Let them agree to do that, which all may now perceive, presents the sole hope of success, and they may well waive the discussion of all lesser topics: Let them unite in the determi-

nation to give *Commerce, Civilization, and Colonization* to Africa—wherever they shall present these, the demon they would destroy, will flee before them. Let a proper scheme be formed to accomplish this. Let the officers of our respective naval forces detached to execute this service, be instructed to act in concert—to visit the most extensive slave marts, convene the Kings and Chiefs before them, and let them know that these two nations have united their forces to abolish the trade. Let treaties of amity and commerce be thus formed along the coast, and all the facilities and inducements of commerce be opened between the natives and the people of both Governments, and with all the world. Thus, and thus only can the solemn pledge of England and America be redeemed, the rescue of Africa accomplished, and the cause of humanity, and the prosperity and honor of the world sustained as they ought to be.

To join in such a work as this no nation has inducements like ours. Our products and manufactures are particularly adapted to African commerce, and her articles of export most valuable to us. And we have facilities and advantages peculiarly our own, arising from the colored race among us, and presenting to them and to ourselves the prospect of incalculable benefit.

That unfortunate race has been treated among us with a humanity that might have been expected from those, who had not covetously sought them for gain, but been compelled, reluctantly, and against their earnest protests, to receive them. They have not been worn down and wasted by hard bondage; as in other slave countries, where the slave trade is resorted to, to repair the losses thus occasioned. Their great increase, equal to that of any race any where, proves that they have been no victims of inhumanity. A great number of them have been liberated, and live among us, both in the slave and free States; under circumstances that must ever be unfavorable both to them and to us.

Let their fathers' land be opened to them. There is their home. They are the men eminently qualified to bear *Commerce, Civilization and Colonization*, to the land of their ancestors. Let them return to dispense there, the blessings they have received here—the arts of civilized life—the restraints of law and order—principles and habits of morality and industry—and above all, the great teacher and dispenser of all good, the Christian religion.—They are men, and they will feel the irresistible impulse to bear these blessings to the benighted brethren of their race. It is not in human nature to resist such an impulse, thus to exalt themselves and enlighten those to whom they are thus bound.

They are also, if not the only men, that can effect the redemption of Africa, certainly the best qualified to accomplish it. Providence seems to have decreed that Africa shall not be the white man's home. He, who "made of one blood all the nations of the earth," hath "assigned" also "the bounds of their habitation:" and Africa is reserved for her original race. They must be the settlers on her coasts, the adventurers to explore her mighty rivers and boundless forests. The late expedition to ascend the Niger cost nearly seventy thousand pounds, and many valuable lives. Who can doubt that such an adventure could have been made by our Colonists on the coast, or by our colored people here, at less than a tenth of the cost, and with no hazard of life? Let us then propose this scheme, and enter upon its execution with an energy and zeal proportioned to such inducements and facilities.

He now called the attention of the Convention to the only other subject embraced by the resolution.

The memorial is to present to the consideration of Congress, the Colonies now established on the African coast.

Here, it may be thought, we are introducing a subject of a more doubtful character. It may be asked what Congress can have to do with these colonies? Where our Gov-

ernment has no sovereignty or jurisdiction? Our constitution it will be said, gives no powers to the General Government to acquire or govern foreign territories. Foreign conquest and dominion were not objects intended to be authorized.

If it be admitted that our constitution does not permit the acquisition of territory and assuming the government of it, on the coast of Africa, it would by no means follow that protection might not be afforded to settlements there established, for the purpose of accomplishing thereby any of the legitimate objects of Government. Our Government, like all others, may certainly be brought under the plainest obligations to extend its protection to a foreign territory, whenever the interests or safety of its own citizens, or its engagements with persons in such territory, may require it. What the memorial is to request of the Representatives of the National Government is—not to assume the Government of these settlements—but to protect them: and this he would undertake to shew as plainly within the power of Congress, as the protection of commerce, or the suppression of the slave trade.

All agree that the commerce of the United States is, by our constitution, placed distinctly and exclusively under the control and protection of the General Government.

Our commerce then with these Colonies is to be protected—and if that branch of our commerce be sufficiently important to our citizens to justify it, doubtless the Colonies themselves may be lawfully protected from danger.

And if it shall be made to appear to Congress that the trade of American citizens on the coast of Africa deserves encouragement and requires protection, and that these friendly and civilized settlements on a barbarous coast are necessary to render such aid and relief to our citizens, so engaged, as may enable them to prosecute their trade safely and advantageously, it would follow as a plain matter of duty that our Government should sustain and protect them. That these Colonies did afford aid to the trade of our citizens, and that their support and protection were legitimate objects of the care and attention of the National Government, had been declared, and proved, and recognized on frequent occasions. Every trader to the coast knows this. Dr. Hall has shewn their great importance in this respect, and the many instances in which the vessels and lives of our citizens have been preserved by the relief they have afforded. And this is confirmed by our naval officers on the coast, the instructions they have received from our Government, and the duties they have been called to discharge. These all shew that, as friendly ports on a distant and inhospitable coast, their protection is essential to the protection of commerce.

Again, their preservation is essential to the prosecution of the other object mentioned in the resolution—the suppression of the slave trade. The power of Congress over that subject, as has been shewn, was never questioned. And if Congress may lawfully undertake measures for the suppression of that trade, and the colonies are necessary or important to make those measures successful, their preservation and protection are within the power of Congress.

That they are the most powerful auxiliaries in the war upon this vile trade is at once shewn by the fact that they have annihilated it everywhere within the reach of their influence. This shews that whenever lawful trade is brought within the reach of the natives, they will abandon the trade in slaves.

He referred to the answers of Dr. Hall, the reports of the African Institution in England, and of the American Colonization Society, and the work of Sir Thomas F. Buxton, to shew the extent of coast in the neighborhood of these African Colonies, now freed from the slave trade, and the happy effects they were producing by their influence and intercourse with the native tribes.

The same documents also to which he had already referred, the reports of our naval officers and the instructions under which they had cruised, shewed that these settle-



ments have been always regarded as important stations for the aid and refreshment of our public and private vessels, and as exerting a beneficial influence in promoting lawful trade and suppressing the slave trade.

No higher claim need be offered to justify the protection now to be asked for them. But there is a higher claim. The faith of our government is pledged for their protection. To that pledge they owe their existence, and to its fulfilment hitherto, their present safety and prosperity.

It can be shown to Congress that their statute in 1819 for the prohibition of the slave trade, required that the Africans captured under its provisions should be removed to Africa. Its second section authorizes the President "to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color as may be so delivered and brought within their jurisdiction: and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of the United States armed vessels." By this act \$100,000 was appropriated to carry it into effect.

The President, in the execution of the duties thus assigned to him, necessarily considered that the Africans thus to be kept, supported and removed or received on the coast of Africa, were not to be left to perish, or again to be seized and transported, on a barbarous coast. He was authorized to appoint agents to receive them, and they and the agents were, of course, to be protected and supported. He therefore made the "regulations and arrangements" required by the act; and despatched agents, with proper means to assist them in the discharge of these duties, to reside upon the coast. They were sent there in a public ship, and directed "to select the most suitable place on the coast of Africa, to which all persons taken under the act should be delivered to them." All these regulations and the measures thus adopted by the President were communicated to Congress by him, in a special message, at the next session. At the same time the Secretary of the Navy communicated to Congress his instructions to the commanders of our armed vessels for the execution of this law; requiring them to deliver whatever Africans they might capture, to the agents on the coast. The place selected by the agents, was the territory then acquired on the coast by the American Colonization Society for the settlement of such free colored persons from our country as should be willing to emigrate. And a certain portion of the first colonists were engaged as assistants to these agents to enable them to support and protect the Africans to be delivered to them. In this manner all the regulations and measures adopted by the Executive in fulfilling the humane provisions of this law, were distinctly brought to the notice of Congress.

At the succeeding session the President's message again brought before Congress, the slave trade and the measures taken to enforce its prohibition. A memorial was also presented by the American Colonization Society, asking "the national countenance and assistance" to their object. It represented that there would be a "settlement of captured Africans upon the coast, in consequence of the measures already adopted," and that it was "evidently most important, if not necessary to such a settlement, that the civilized people of color, of this country, whose industry, enterprize, and knowledge of agriculture and the arts, would render them most useful assistants, should be connected with such an establishment." It stated further that a territory had been acquired, and that they were about to send out a Colony, and they called the attention of Congress to the important effects that might be expected from such establishments upon the slave trade. "That such points of settlement would diffuse their

light around the coast, and gradually dispel the darkness which has so long enshrouded that continent, would be a reasonable hope, and would justify the attempt, even if experience had not ascertained its success. Although, therefore, much may be effected by the vigilant operations of a well disposed naval force, it is to be feared that much will always remain to be done, until some degree of civilization is attained by the inhabitants of the coast of Africa. The present measures, therefore, for the suppression of the slave trade, if unconnected with others for the improvements of the natives, must be long continued and the effects produced by them will be partial, tedious, and uncertain; and the least relaxation of this vigilance will revive it."

The subject, thus brought to the notice of the National Legislature, was referred to a committee, which, towards the close of the session, presented an able and interesting Report. This Report was accompanied with the resolution already referred to, recommending the slave trade to be made piracy, and subjecting it to the punishment of death. The Committee, speaking of the act of 1819, says—"the unavoidable consequence of this just and humane provision, is to require some preparation to be made for their temporary succor, on being relanded upon the African shore. And no preparation can prove so congenial to its own object, or so economical as regards the government charged with this charitable duty, as that which would be found in a Colony of the free people of color of the United States. Sustained by the recommendations of numerous Societies in every part of the United States, and the approving voice of the legislative assemblies of several States, without inquiring into any other tendency of the object of the memorialists, your committee do not hesitate to pronounce it deserving of the countenance and support of the General Government."

They add, "of the Constitutional power of the General Government to grant the limited aid contemplated by the accompanying bill and resolutions, your committee presume there can exist no shadow of doubt; and they leave it to a period of greater national prosperity to determine, how far the authority of Congress, the resources of the National Government, and the welfare and happiness of the United States, will warrant, or require its extension. Your committee are solemnly enjoined, by the peculiar object of their trust, and invited by the suggestions of the memorialists, to inquire into the defects of the existing laws against the African slave trade. So long as it is in the power of the United States to provide additional restraints upon this odious traffick, they cannot be withheld, consistently with the justice and power of the nation."

Of the resolution appended to the report they say—"In proposing to the House of Representatives, to make such part of this offence as occurs upon the ocean, piracy, your committee are animated, not by the desire of manifesting the horror with which it is viewed by the American people; but, by the confident expectation of promoting, by their example, its more certain punishment by all nations, and its absolute and final extinction. May it not be believed, that when the whole civilized world shall have denounced the slave trade as piracy, it will become as unfrequent as any other species of that offence against the law of nations? Is it unreasonable to suppose, that negotiations will, with greater facility, introduce into that law, such a provision as is here proposed, when it shall have been already incorporated in the separate code of each State? The maritime powers of the Christian world have, at length, concurred in pronouncing sentence of condemnation against the traffick. The United States, having led the way in forming this decree, owe it to themselves, not to follow the rest of mankind in promoting its vigorous execution."

Such are the sanctions under which the lights have been kindled that now shine upon shores long darkened by the crimes of all nations. The humane policy of those measures has never been changed. Agents are still appointed. Cargoes of captured

Africans have been received there, and they are now a portion of a civilized and prosperous community, reflecting honor upon the land under whose auspices they have been sent to dispense the blessings they have received to those that sit around them "in darkness and in the shadow of death."

How can this work of our own hands be abandoned? What our power and policy have thus planted, must be fenced round by our protection.

On every ground therefore of their own merit, and the support thus pledged to them, and as aids to commerce, and as allies against the slave trade, they must be sustained and protected. In truth these three great subjects are one and indivisible. African commerce calls for the destruction of the slave trade, and to destroy the slave trade you must foster African commerce, and African Colonization is the life of African commerce, and the death of the slave trade.

And such is the indissoluble connexion of these three great agents in this great work, that if the distinct claims of the colonies could be disregarded, our government in fulfilling its obligations to suppress the slave trade and encourage commerce, would incidentally and necessarily extend protection to the colonies. Indeed this incidental protection and assistance, properly applied, would give almost all the aid they require. The claims of commerce alone will demand the presence of a portion of our naval force, and the appointment of commercial agents as usual in other places, with proper powers to afford the facilities to trade, and protection to our vessels.

The same means will be necessary to act efficiently against the slave trade, and form treaties with other nations for its abolition.

These means, effectually applied, will constitute the chief defence required by the colonies. Some of them, perhaps, but recently established, are not yet sufficiently strong in numbers, to be entirely secure; and most of them may need an additional supply of arms. One measure now seeming to require attention, is that of negotiating with the natives for the safety and neutrality of these settlements. This interposition has been asked by the States of Virginia and Maryland; and Mr. Jefferson has long since expressed the opinion, when the application was made by Virginia, that such a measure was proper in itself, and could only be effected by the exercise of the powers vested in the General Government. This must necessarily be done by the authority of Congress.

Such, then, is the view which the resolution proposes to present to Congress of these subjects. He trusted it had been sufficiently shewn that none of them were even near the border of those limits which have been assigned to the powers of Congress.

He believed it would now appear that the time for decisive action was come—the time to renovate and re-people a wasted and woe-worn land—to drive away its cruel spoilers, and to introduce commerce, colonization and civilization, with all the virtues and blessings in their train.

The failures and disappointments of the past now show the path to success, and make it manifest that we need no longer waste our efforts in doubtful and uncertain measures. We know what is to be done, and how it is to be done.

We have undoubted facts to make out a clear and strong case for the action of our Government, on all the grounds on which it is to be claimed. Its power over the subject is proved and settled, the will to exert it cannot be found wanting in the representatives of the American people; and we may confidently hope that what our Government was the first to declare, it will be the foremost to execute.

In conclusion, he called upon the friends of that great cause, in whose behalf this Convention had assembled, to rejoice in its brightening prospects. African Colonization was about to receive a new impulse, to assume a new and commanding position

among the means that are destined to remove a curse, and bestow a blessing upon mankind. United with commerce and civilization, giving and receiving strength by the association, she will go forth to certain conquest.

The colonization of Africa by its own free and civilized descendants, would seem, from its very nature and necessary consequences, to be the chosen and fitted instrument for her deliverance. And now experience has proved that it is so. Of all the instruments put in use to effect the purpose, this is the only one that has never failed to produce results commensurate with the extent of its application.

He had never doubted its success. From its origin, when first proposed by the venerated Finley, to the present time, in its darkest day he had never doubted. It originated in Christian hope and benevolence, and had the favor of Heaven; and that favor had been manifested in all its course. Christians and patriots came around it. And though many of them had since been called away from their earthly labors, Christians and patriots were still around it; and this Convention had the gratification of seeing that, under the impulse of the feelings which had called it into existence, there were still American statesmen, ready and able to maintain it.

And what, (he asked) were the triumphs to which it aspired? If the extinction of the slave trade was to be its only trophy, who could estimate the amount of human guilt and suffering that would be thus prevented? If but one tribe of helpless creatures could be thus delivered—one den of slaughter and pollution broken up—the victims of a single slave ship rescued (and victories like these Colonization had already achieved, and was now daily achieving) who would regret that the labor of his life had been devoted to such a cause?

But what should be our zeal and energy when we know that the monstrous iniquity against which we are engaging, demands and receives annually half a million of our fellow creatures as its victims!—victims to a fate far more tremendous than death.

If it was even only death, think what death must be in the hold of a slave ship! Where else was ever such a bed of torture prepared by man for man? It is a sad and fearful thing to die under all the circumstances of alleviation that can be brought around us. When the bed is smoothed by the hand of affection, when the cooling draft and the refreshing breeze, and the gentle words, and ministry of sympathizing friends, soften the pains of dissolution. But when the body is in chains and the heart in agony, where there is none to pity or to help, none present but demons and their victims—where the living and the dying and the dead, are crushed together in one loathsome mass of anguish and pollution, it is terrible to die.

It is still more terrible to live—to live through all these horrors—and to come forth a breathing skeleton of despair, and put on the iron yoke of wasting bondage.

Who can be unconcerned, and know that things like these are done and doing upon the earth we inhabit? That it presents, as it revolves, this foul and bloody blot to the eye of Heaven, calling for the lightning of the Almighty to consume the work which he had blessed, and man hath cursed! All—all are guilty in his sight—not only those who *perpetrate*, but those who *permit* the outrage.

Let then all—all people and all nations of the earth rise in the majesty of human nature, and with united voice proclaim throughout the world that this enormity shall cease—and let them never rest till by their united arms, it shall be accomplished.—Let all join in a work of mercy that shall appease the wrath of Heaven, and win the smiles of angels. Let the ocean no longer bear away from Africa her wretched people, but return her outcasts, free, civilized, and rejoicing.

This work will be done—the voice of inspiration has proclaimed it, and fulfilling prophecies around us show that the dawning of this day of brightness is at hand.

“Ethiopia is stretching forth the hand.” “Her solitary places shall be glad.” “Her wildernesses shall blossom as the rose.”

Yes, the Colonization of the colored race on the land of their fathers is no longer a theory, a scheme, an experiment, but a fact, a work in progress—and it will go on. A great nation has resolved it—patriotism commands it—benevolence urges it—religion impels it—and it will go on.

A free and happy land, rejoicing in the best gifts of Heaven, will make this grateful offering to the Great Giver of its blessings—will stretch forth the hand of love and mercy to an outcast and down-trodden race, and lead them to their home. Africa will take to her bleeding bosom her long lost children; and they shall wipe away her tears of agony—break off all her chains—enlighten all her darkness, and the days of her abasement shall be ended.

Where can human hearts be found insensible to such a work? The whole world may well be called upon, to make that which redounds to the honor and happiness of the world, the business of the world.

But this call must be most loud and effectual where this ill-fated race is found; and found in such circumstances that its removal is indispensable to its enjoyment of freedom and happiness, and essential to the interests of those from whom they remove.

The call is to our country.

He trusted she would nobly answer it.

He thought he valued, as he ought, her deeds of patriotism and valor, the triumphs achieved by her flag. But when that standard flings forth its folds over the destitute and abandoned; when it calls together the outcasts of a dark and distant land, guides them to a happy heritage, and there waves over them, their pride and their protection; then are its stars a constellation of glory; then does it achieve a higher triumph than its proudest battle fields have won.

This is the boon that he would ask for his country—not the renown that arms or arts can give, but a name and example that should enlighten and animate the world, by being active and eminent in a work of mercy—that she should show her gratitude to Heaven for the blessings she has received, by the blessings she bestows—and secure the protection of Heaven by fulfilling its high behests in sending forth its light to those who are in darkness. He did covet for his native land the honor of repairing the wrongs, and re-peopling the desolations of injured Africa, and restoring her to a place among the nations of the earth. Thus making a great continent, redeemed and enlightened by her labors, a living monument to her praise.

The resolution was adopted.

The honorable C. F. Mercer seconded this resolution.

Mr. Mercer then rose and alluded to the early days of the Society and to the transactions connected with its origin, in which the gentleman near him, (Mr. Key,) and one lamented individual, (the late Elias B. Caldwell,) and himself had been especially concerned. He spoke of the first movements in Congress for the cause, and especially of the passage of the law denouncing the slave trade as piracy, and of the act by which the recaptured Africans had been brought under the protection of the general government, and due provision made for their restoration to Africa; of the benefit mutually secured by the Government and the Colonization Society, by acting in concert at the time the colony of Liberia was founded, and of the obligation of the national legislature to extend its protecting care to

colonies that had sprung into being under its auspices, and without the existence of which, it had been well nigh impossible to carry out the humane provisions of Congress for the benefit of the recaptured Africans. We cannot give even a sketch of this speech.

The resolution was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Key, the following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to prepare and present the memorial contemplated in the resolution to the Congress of the United States:—Messrs Key, Whittlesey, Gurley, Lindsly and Ellsworth.

On motion of Mr. Whittlesey it was

“*Resolved*, That a Committee or Committees be appointed to solicit donations to the cause both from our citizens and members of both Houses of Congress.”

The appointment of this Committee or of these Committees was left with the President of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Gurley it was

“*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be presented to the honorable Joseph R. Underwood, for the very able and dignified manner in which he has presided over the proceedings of this meeting, and especially for the large sacrifices of time, which amid many arduous duties, he has cheerfully made to the cause.”

Mr. Underwood expressed his increasing concern to advance the interests of African Colonization as the great hope for our Union and for Africa, and his determination to advocate all proper measures for its furtherance in the councils of the nation.

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

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[It seems proper to insert here, the following appeal of the Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, as it comprises the facts and observations made by that gentleman, during the session of the Convention, and particularly those submitted by him with great effect, at the religious meeting, on Sunday evening, called by authority of the Convention, and before its final adjournment.]

#### AN APPEAL

*To the friends of the Colonization Society, being the substance of a statement of facts presented at a public meeting held in the First Presbyterian Church, sabbath evening, May 5th, 1842. By H. L. Ellsworth, one of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society.*

MY FRIENDS—I come before you as one of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society. My heart is too deeply oppressed with the difficulties which embarrass us, too full of anxiety for apology. I come not as a beggar; I come to make a simple statement of facts; to ask you to share in our responsibility, and decide what is to be done. It has already been mentioned that 200 emigrants are urging their way to their

native land, and are soon to be arrested only by the broad ocean which separates them from Africa. You may perhaps ask, Why have the Executive Committee permitted such an occurrence, a conscription, as it were, on the charity of the community?

In reply let me say, that your Committee could not, and if they could they would not dare prevent it. You yourselves would not have done so, unless I am greatly wrong in my estimate of your hearts; and when you hear the facts I shall lay before you, I trust you will excuse us from all blame.

Look then at the position of the Committee. We are only the executive instruments of your will to carry out your benevolent and humane purposes. Twenty years ago the Colonization Society was established with the concurrent approbation of the General Government, the State Governments, patriots throughout the land, and with the prayers of the most devoted and ardent Christians. The wants of the Government for an asylum for re-captured Africans; the wishes and the hopes of emancipated slaves in this country; the desire of the States to free themselves from the dangers arising from two classes of colored men, one in bondage and the other free; a sympathy for poor Africa herself oppressed by the horrors of the slave trade, and a stranger to the God of Heaven—all these combined to establish this Society. It was done, and the hopes of many brightened. A little band was planted on the inhospitable shores of a barbarous coast, now called by the delightful appellation of Liberia. From the founding of the Colony until the present moment, the efforts of the Society have been directed to *encourage* the free people of color to remove hence to that Colony—for it was never designed to use any compulsion—and also to procure funds to defray the necessary expenses. Embarrassments, as you are aware, have arisen, and the way has often times been hemmed up. The little Colony has, however, been mercifully preserved, and both master and servant have been assured of our willingness and desire to gratify their wishes. Nay further, bequests have been made to the Society; the dying charge of several persons are on its records. In most of the cases freedom is given only on condition of emigrating to Africa. The fears of some, that emigrants could not be found, has thus been removed. A new era has arrived; our mails are crowded with applications to your Committee; a mighty torrent has burst forth. They come at *your* bidding, and wait your direction. They come with a joyful heart, hoping soon to see their fatherland; they come with a longing desire to embark under your kind patronage. Yes! onward they come; they seem to be messengers of peace and salvation to a benighted region of the world. Will you stay them in their homeward passage?

Night after night, my friends, your Committee meet to hear their supplications. I assure you that the festivities which many appear to enjoy have no charms for me. I know I cannot do much; but whatever punctuality and unremitting services, however humble, can do is already most willingly consecrated to this cause. And now look at the situation of your Committee. They must feel—they *do* feel for the woes of others who beg relief. But we cannot work miracles; we can only use human means. What appeal can we make that will prove effectual?

If there is an object of sympathy in this wide world, it is the African, torn from his native land, separated from all that he loved, transferred amid the horrors of a gloomy passage in a slave ship to a foreign shore, and there

held to bondage; and who at last for his honest servitude is offered his freedom or who by untiring labor has bought himself, and now makes his single, humble, suppliant request to be permitted and aided to return home to die. If he is poor, it is not because he is indolent; his task was done, his duty performed; his hard earnings have been for his master; and he is penniless because he spent his all to become free. Read his joy, that the happy time has arrived when he no longer wears the yoke of bondage. O happy thought! what bright anticipations now fill his heart. He tells us that he is ready to embark, and inquires, how soon will a ship sail for Africa? What is our reply? We direct the Secretary to inform him that we deeply sympathize in his disappointment, but we cannot send him—we have no funds. Such, my friends, is our daily reply to pressing applications; and what do we get in return? Expressions of regret, disappointment and despair. The freedom purchased or bestowed is held only on condition of removal within a definite time. Sad thought! upon this contingency rests the question of his return to bondage for the remainder of life! Poor and friendless they come to us—what can we do? Can we go on and incur obligations which we have no present means of discharging? Yes, my friends, we have done so; we could not resist such appeals. Humanity cries aloud—he has served long enough. We encourage him to hope for relief, and we try to raise some means for his aid.

There is another appeal to us as Christians. It comes from a native African. He shows the scars which his manacles have made and which time cannot efface. He tells his story of woe, yet murmurs not. It is God who has permitted it. He bows to his condition; he rejoices at the goodness of One who, he hopes, has redeemed him from a bondage worse than that of slavery—the bondage of sin. No revengeful word is on his lips; he says that the grave will be the common master for us all without distinction, and that we shall arise alike to a glorious immortality. He asks not for lands or for money; he sees how poor Africa is situated—poor, heathen Africa; he feels the dying injunction of his Heavenly master, “Go preach my Gospel to every creature.” He tells us that the white man soon dies on the shores of Africa, but God has given him a constitution tempered for that clime. His prayer to us—the earnest pleadings of his heart is, “Let me go to proclaim to millions in darkness and in the shadow of death the goodness and mercy of my God.” To such an appeal what can we reply? We ask you, my friends, shall we shut up our bowels of compassion, tell him we have no means—we can raise none, and compel him to remain forever in servitude here, cheered only by the brighter promise of a future world, with the sole privilege, which, thank God! no fetters or bondage can take away or restrain, a secret prayer for his native land?

You may perhaps say, Can such things be? Permit me in reply to read you a single letter selected from many of a similar character.

“GALLATIN COUNTY, CYPRESSVILLE, ILLINOIS,  
“September 19, 1841.

“S. WILKESON, ESQ.—SIR:—Yours of the 21st Aug. has come to hand. We calculated to pay our passage by the assistance of Mr. Fagg, one of the agents for the Society, but he has failed to assist us. There are 18 of us that will go, and we are utterly unable to pay our passage. The 18



consist of 3 families, myself and wife and 4 children, Rufus Jacobs, his wife and 4 children, Redie B. Smith and 1 child, my wife's sister, Malina Porter, a single woman, Jerome Crofuld, a single man, Joseph Allen, a single man, and an old man, a native of Africa, named John. We all wish to go to Liberia, and are not able to pay our passage. If the Society can send us, we are willing to refund the amount in labor or produce when we are able.

"We are ready to start from Shawneetown at any moment, and wish the time to come as soon as possible; for though we are free in name we are not free in fact.—We are in as bad, or worse condition than the slaves of which you speak, being compelled to leave the State, or give security, and those of the whites who would befriend us are debarred by the fear of public opinion. If only those who deserve such treatment, if any do, were the only ones to suffer we should be content; but on the contrary if one misbehaves, all the colored people in the neighborhood are the sufferers, and that frequently by unlawful means; dragged from our beds at the hour of midnight, *stripped naked*, in presence of our *children* and wives, by a set of men alike lost to mercy decency and Christianity, and flogged till they are satisfied, before we know for what; and when we are informed, it is the probably the first time we heard of the offence. Such is our situation and such the condition from which your Society can extricate us. We deem it worse than slavery. We say again we wish to go to Liberia, and if no way else is provided, we had as lief soon *indent* ourselves to the Society for *life* for our passage, so we can live among our own color. Let me know as soon as possible, whether you can help us, and how soon, and how much. Times are so hard here, that property will not bring half its value. We have disposed of what little we had, with the calculation that Mr. Fagg would assist us: perhaps if you would stimulate him to help us, it would be some advantage. We want to know what assistance your Society will give us, after we get there.

"Yours, respectfully,

"MARVILL H. SMITH."

Here, my friends, you see is the case of 18 persons. They have been emancipated; they were obliged to leave the State in which they served, and where could they go? They sought a temporary resting place, an asylum in a free state. How have they been persecuted! The emigrant tells you his simple and affecting story of wrong and outrage. Among these you will notice is a native African, who in his old age has obtained his freedom and ardently desires to see Africa once more before he dies.—Perchance some that he knew and loved, he may find yet spared from the clutches of the ruthless gang that tore him away. And now what could we reply to this letter? Must we dash to the earth their present hopes? We were compelled to do it. We said, for the present, no. Emigrants were crowding upon us; old debts, not large indeed, but imperative, urged for payment. We did indeed encourage them to hope for relief at some future time, we could not tell when or how. And when they found their condition there worse than slavery or death itself, and heard of the possibility of a passage to Africa from New Orleans, though we had told them to wait till further notice, they gathered their little all and jumped into a boat bound for that city. Will you, can you blame them for it? Alas! when they reached New Orleans no vessel was there; our expected ex-

pedition failed. These poor dependent creatures then cast themselves in their misery upon the friends of the Colonization Society; they have been transported to Norfolk and there they wait in anxious hope to sail soon for Africa. It remains for you my friends to say whether they shall go.

I will mention further, that our agent in Tennessee, was expressly informed by us, that we had no means to transport emigrants and none must come to Norfolk except such as were provided with funds to meet all their expenses. But the spirit of emigration that has been aroused cannot be repressed, and a few days since we received a letter informing us that 86 were on their way. Some of them had money and some had not; some had horses and wagons, others were coming on foot; their little all, whatever it might be, was to be disposed of when they reached Norfolk. There they remain with fond hopes and ardent aspirations for their native land, They possess good characters; some are artisans, some agriculturists, some are prepared to be teachers and a few to preach the Gospel. Among them are the friends and relations of that valuable and heroic citizen of Liberia, Zion Harris, who is now in this country pleading the cause of the Colony. The death of the Rev. Mr. Erskine, his father-in-law was an affecting incident. Willing and ready to die he left one request, that his son would, should providence permit, once visit Tennessee and bring to Africa the surviving relatives left behind, so far as they could be obtained. God has prospered the errand of love and mercy. By the kindness of their masters, the assistance of friends and his persuasion, Harris returns to Africa with thirteen of his kindred. What shall we say to them my friends? Shall they spend their little all to return again to bondage? You must decide.

And, my Christian friends, there is a company of 8 Africans from the Osage Mission on the confines of civilization in the far West. They come with hearts warm and glowing from that altar where many a morning and evening sacrifice has been offered up for poor Africa; they come to beg a passage, as it were, in the name of their divine master. May I say, that I shall never forget that devoted mission station. It was there where many years since I met those who now ask our aid. It was there that the wild Indians whom I had brought from near the foot of the Rocky Mountains first saw how the white man was taught to read and write; there for the first time they heard in a Christian assembly of the white man's God, and there they implored those blessings from their great father (the President) which the African now asks for his native land. We had traveled many hundred miles together; sickness and other trials had endeared us to each other. The time of the final separation had come: I was to go where the sun rises; they to the place where it sets. Believing as they do, that the truth is not spoken when the sun does not shine on the heart, the farewell was postponed for a clear sky. They met in a crowded group, threw off the buffalo robes, their homely covering, and one of their number thus addressed me: "My Grandfather, the sky is clear. The great spirit sees me, the earth on which I stand hears me; the truth is spoken. You have brought us to see our enemies, (the Delawares) we have feasted on the white man's heart; we have made peace and smoked together; the hatchet and the knife that was sharpened for scalps, shall now be buried deep in the ground, and the weeds shall grow over them. You come from the big waters and return again. You will see our great

father. Tell him we are his children; we are poor, the buffaloes are fast disappearing and the white men are catching our beavers; we cannot raise corn, we have no tools, ask him to remember us and to help us; tell him, my grandfather, that the prairie hen puts her wings over her chickens and broods them; ask him to put his wings over us." Pardon me this digression. The association of the event with the Osage Mission station and the similarity of the wild Indian's plea to that of the poor African was such I could scarcely avoid it. I return then to the colored family from this Mission. Your Committee was forced to refuse them a passage unless means were provided; some contributions were made to reimburse, in part, the expense, and they have now come for a passage. Shall *they* go? You will decide.

Another case of thrilling interest is that of a father who has struggled on through life, and, having obtained his own emancipation has purchased six of his children; and only waits till he can redeem two more. His sole hope and desire is to return to Africa. What will you say with regard to him?

Let me mention one case more; It is that of the humane and liberal McDonough of New Orleans, a name long to be endeared to Liberia. He offered your Committee eighty slaves—persons of good character, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, ship-builders, sugar makers, agriculturists, &c. He desired to teach them and fit them for their mission to their kindred friends; he applied to the Legislature for permission to instruct them, but knowledge is power, and cannot be entrusted to the slave; and the request was denied. Ask them, however, to read and they will do so; ask them to write and they understand this also. Inquire not further; some of them are competent to teach schools; many of them are professing Christians. Connected with this number are two others who are now pursuing their theological studies in Pennsylvania, preparatory to their departure for Africa. One of them will go soon; the other when he completes his studies, and has made himself master of the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic languages; in some of which he has already made great proficiency. O, how these emigrants will gladden the hearts of the desponding Colony of Liberia. What could we say to them? Should we say that we could not let *them* go? We have bidden them come; we have committed their case and all the other cases to God; we have chartered a ship to take them to their desired port amidst a thousand aspirations which neither you nor I can feel. Such are the claims which the colored men in our own country themselves prefer.

I ask now your consideration of the claims of our little Colony. By every arrival from there we learn her wants and her trials. Surrounded by a savage foe who are goaded on by infuriated slave traders, because for three hundred miles their path is blocked up; without vessels for transportation, if her people were disposed to flee from their numerous assailants, we may well wonder and ask, How has she been preserved? Many have been the conflicts of her children, and where has bravery been better exhibited? Those who have fallen have died like freemen, who were once slaves and preferred death to a second bondage. This Colony has been planted by the the General Government of the country, with the aid of the several States, and of individuals. Little did those who first embarked under your kind auspices ever think they would be thus forgotten; much less that they would be abandoned. But, my friends, what is their

condition; they are in want, they need many things. They need houses, and how can these houses be erected? No saw mills are provided, though water-power and timber are both convenient. Even now your Committee are shipping lumber by every opportunity across the ocean to make them comfortable and to provide accommodations for new emigrants. This is done at a great expense; but we have no means with which to erect mills. Your Colony, too, needs arms and munitions of war. Their condition is hard indeed; exposed and defenceless, they ask us to send them some guns. We have no means; we have entreated the community in their behalf, but almost in vain; little has lately been given to increase our funds. We have tried to purchase these necessaries, but we have no credit, and our name, alas! is dishonored. We have tried to beg, but without success. As a last resort we have borrowed for a time two mounted guns and a few small arms; not however, without a sacred pledge on our part to return them when demanded. The arsenal and magazines of our happy country are crowded with munitions of war. Why is it, that this Colony, which does so much to ameliorate the condition of men, and to suppress the slave trade, cannot be gratified in so reasonable a request? All they ask is little; but this little would make them rich indeed, and ourselves no poorer.

Look at Liberia, my friends; what was it? The favorite mart of the slave dealer; the paths of the captives yet remain well trodden; the shores have long been bleached by the bones of human beings who perished there while waiting the arrival of cruel masters. Yet all has become changed. Yes, my friends, it is a fact, that where the slave factories once stood are now seen no less than eighteen churches consecrated to almighty God. Where pens were erected to confine the unhappy victims, you may now find schools and seminaries of learning, surrounded by highly cultivated fields, and loaded with the most luxuriant vegetation. Nature there is prolific: in no part of the world can the wants of man be more easily satisfied. The climate is mild and there are no winters; the earth yields most abundantly coffee, rice, cotton, sugar, maize or Indian corn, wheat and vegetables without number; the forests are filled with palm from which oil is obtained in vast quantities. Camwood too, abounds, with a variety of other dyewoods and spices; the annual exports now exceed \$100,600; and were the Colony fostered by our Government, how extensive a trade might be established, should roads be opened into the interior which has already been explored for 160 miles. Populous villages are sometimes found; one of them containing not less than 5,000 persons, on a single peak, picketed in by rude slabs. I pray that the time may come when the Committee will be able to extend to the willing natives some facilities of intercourse. At present the objects of trade are transported only on the backs of men. Need I tell you how much the Colony has already done; how much it has cheered and supported the tribes most contiguous to the settlement? You will find the native children in every school, learning with astonishing rapidity, destined soon to teach others and carry the Gospel far into the interior. Every day the belief is extending that this little Colony is established for the good of Africa. The natives say, that there is some great and good being that watches over and protects it; or else before this it would have fallen. Yes, the poor trembling African flees to your little Colony for protection. But lately a vessel hove in sight beyond the confines of our territory; the slave dealer's

placard was hoisted. "A cargo of able bodied men wanted; the highest price will be given." Till then a momentary respite had existed, and peace—if it deserves the name, amidst such anxiety as they daily feel—prevailed. But cupidity and avarice commenced their work; kidnappers loaded with arms started off; and oh the misery which followed in their train; a few captives were obtained; many however, preferred death.—The chief of one nearly desolated tribe fled with three hundred of his band; they ran to our Colony for relief. Their pursuers were obliged to halt in deep disappointment. And O, how great was the joy and gratitude of the chief and his friends. They have returned to tell of the kindness and humanity of Liberia. Eight chiefs came also "to make a book"—a treaty,—offering to give up traffic in slaves entirely, and aid the Colony in suppressing it. Is not this Colony entitled to your sympathy and assistance?

A few days since some messengers came here from the Colony to represent their griefs, and enquire what could be done. Let me say, that I have had much conversation with these men. Among the most intelligent of them was Judge Benedict—a judge of their superior court, a good lawyer and a sound practical man. I shall never forget the interview. He told me, that the colonists were strongly attached to their republic and grateful for the favors it had received. But the time had now arrived when their hopes were expiring; little was done for them; other colonies of the French and English fared much better and found more assistance and protection. Our colony seemed almost abandoned. He asked me in confidence, if something more could not be done. He appealed to me as a brother Christian to tell him plainly; and he said that of one thing there was a certainty, that unless something was done speedily, other protection would be secured. It had been offered; and could we, my friends, blame them if they accepted it? He ardently hoped, that Liberia might be preserved as an asylum for his kindred here, and that the benevolent objects so long cherished for a final redemption of the colored race now in the United States, would not be frustrated. And what could I say? He told me that he wanted a frank answer. If no aid could be given, it was due to those who had been so long disappointed, to be informed of it. I told him not to despair, but to return to his friends and say to them, that the Committee would do all they could for them. He has returned, cheered by the encouragement given; and I now appear before you to fulfil my pledge, and appeal to your sympathies in their behalf. And I tell you, my friends, believe me when I say it, that if something more is not speedily done, the Colony will assuredly be lost to us; and much as I believe that this Colony is the last hope of alleviation or remedy for the evils which we so bitterly experience, and more especially for those which threaten us, I should justify them in their sad farewell. They are men; the ties of friendship and obligation are acknowledged; still self-preservation is with all, the first law of nature. Your Committee have endeavored to cheer and animate the colored man and prepare him for the station to which providence seems about to call him—the government of a free republic on the shores of Africa. Death has seized on its early prey; most of the white men who have had the management of a colony in Liberia—Ashmun, Buchanan and many others have fallen; their labors were quickly over. They toiled hard and sought to accomplish much; they have done much; but they have gone to a better world. They have left a dying re-

quest that we should remember their much loved colony of Liberia. On a leaf in Buchanan's diary is found recorded his confidence and belief when he went forth—"God who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb, can fit my constitution to a tropical climate; 'but though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.'" Shall this colony be abandoned? If the prayers of emancipated Africans or the prayer of the colony are insufficient to rouse us to effort, let me present to the patriot the hope of this country; our happy Union.

The time has come when many good men doubt our continuance as an undivided people much longer. The tocsin is already sounded for dissolution. We may desire to avoid the contemplation of the dangers which threaten us, but encounter them we must. The progress of civilization is onward; the light of liberty and emancipation has been steady and unceasing; more than half of the States have abolished slavery or laid the foundation for complete emancipation. Slavery has been, it is, and ever will be, considered by all, with few exceptions, a dreadful evil. The sage of Monticello, the apostle of liberty, with his compatriots, Madison, Marshall and Monroe, and many others have already spoken. I need not quote passages from their writings in evidence of their views. And for this evil, what is to be the remedy? None has been offered at all adequate, that does not include colonization, and without it emancipation it is believed by many, would prove a curse alike to the slave States themselves and to those States where entire freedom prevails. Two races of men so distinct cannot flourish together. I speak of it as a fact. If the poor Indians, our red brethren, proprietors of the soil, could not remain in the midst of us, how much less encouragement is there to expect a permanent residence with equal privileges for the more degraded slave. To force upon the Southern States a free colored population cannot be done; the north need not expect it. Nor do the Northern States desire the free people of color to become citizens with them. No, my friends, no! We do not want them; we abhor amalgamation; we deplore the commixture. We desire not our youth to grow up amid the many temptations to vice which such a population offers. Should emancipation become general without colonization; were thousands and hundreds of thousands of slaves set free, scattered over our land, filling the outskirts of our villages, degraded and degrading others, marked by God as a distinct race with no adequate human motives for elevation, they would be a prey upon the community. We judge from facts. I allow, indeed, there are honorable individual exceptions; but human nature remains unchanged. Were emancipation without colonization to become general, our prisons, our jails, our alms-houses must all be enlarged or built anew; our present security would be gone; we, too, must fortify ourselves. Talk not then of a general emancipation without colonization.

I was most happy to hear our friend and early benefactor in the cause from Maryland (Francis S. Key, Esq.) declare what were the true interests of Maryland. "Where" said he "the slave population on the northern boundaries, of the State have nearly disappeared, a dense population of white men has come in; and the land has trebled in value." Let each State then have time to pause, reflect and legislate, without foreign coercion or intimidation. Let not the North indulge in crimination. It is their vessels which have transported the slave to their bondage. Well has the honorable senator from Virginia (Mr. Rives) told us how earnestly his

State struggled to avert the evils she now realizes—how ardently she supplicated the mother country, England, while a colony, to prohibit the importation of slaves, but England refused; and Virginia had no alternative. It was among those of her grievances first alledged which led to revolt and to independence. How eloquently, too, the honorable senator from Kentucky (Gov. Morehead) depicted the dangers and difficulties arising from slavery, and pointed to the only remedy—emancipation with colonization. And let me include also, the most worthy gentleman from the same State, (Mr. Underwood) who presided over our deliberations, whose heart is never closed against the sufferings of humanity, let it come in what shape it will. The example of the prosperity of the free States is argument enough, and will assuredly operate. If the Queen of the West, as Ohio is fitly termed, is rising in majesty and grandeur, and filling up with a dense population, let it be remembered by those who are separated only by the beautiful waters of the Ohio, that no physical causes operate to create the difference between them. Kentucky, with a milder climate, and a soil unsurpassed in fertility might be, would be, the preferred dwelling-place to many emigrants in search of a better home. The census tells the whole story, and how powerful is its testimony. Leave, then, these facts for statesmen to ponder, let them be pondered and all will soon be done. Colonization, to accompany emancipation, is in my opinion the only remedy.

Am I asked, Is it practicable? Then I ask in reply, Why not? The number of the slave population, and the impossibility of transporting them across the ocean is urged as an answer to this. I reply, we look to Liberia as located on the shores at an immense distance from us. But what is the fact? We look to England as merely a pleasant sail; the distance is not regarded; a passage is made in twelve or fourteen days and tens of thousands pass back and forth continually. How much farther off is Liberia? But about five hundred miles my friends; if you doubt it, examine the chart and you will be satisfied. Are you incredulous as to the fact? it may be removed most easily.

But how, you ask, shall the emancipated be transported? This is a serious question. The transportation is practicable. The commerce of Africa is daily increasing; there are no limits to the products of her soil; she grows what all nations want; soon a trade will be opened to the interior; an extensive market will there be furnished for our manufactures in exchange for her commodities. How strong, then, is the appeal to the friends of commerce, for a continent of 50,000,000 of inhabitants, a large proportion of whom will become consumers. Although the United States have never sought to plant colonies for the extension of our commerce, still if these blessings flow from the philanthropy, or I may say even necessity of establishing this colony it is certainly a most happy incident. I would then establish regular lines of packets, from New Orleans, Savannah, Charleston, Norfolk, and Baltimore to sail every month. I would freight them with emigrants and merchandize, and bring back the products of Africa; and at all times it would be easy to secure a return cargo of salt at the Cape de Verd Islands. Such a commerce might soon support itself. But suppose it did not; could we not hope for assistance from the States and the General Government? Is it so, that millions of acres of new land are given for roads and canals, and if a nation's perpetuity is at stake, if the happiness of millions of bondmen are suspended on the enterprise, if

the happiness and welfare of the States themselves are so intimately connected with this object, are we not to expect and claim a pittance which would make the rich no poorer and the poor rich indeed? If constitutional objections are raised, let the constitution be amended to meet the emergency—all would give a hearty assent. Your Committee now find one of their greatest embarrassments from the uncertainty of procuring a passage for emigrants. Very many would emancipate their slaves if there was a certainty of their immediate removal from this country. Emancipation is thus often delayed till the death of the owner, when large plantations including slaves are thrown into litigation. Disappointed heirs contest every point; already do we find estates bequeathed to the Society, in the single State of Mississippi exceeding by former appraisement over \$200,000. Judgment has been obtained, but nothing has finally been accomplished, and the benevolent object of the testator as yet is wholly thwarted. It cannot be doubted, that if regular passages could be furnished, more emigrants would be offered than could be immediately taken.

It is said, that the climate of Liberia is sickly? I have my friends, carefully examined this point. I have visited many parts of Europe and this country, and found the same causes operating alike every where. Many of the ports in the West Indies are called the graves of foreigners; the same is said of New Orleans, while the high lands in the neighborhood of the sickly parts are healthy. What is Liberia? On the coast where the unparalleled exuberance of soil produces malaria, sickness is indeed often found. Happily, however, the beautiful hills, not a day's travel back from the coast are healthy and furnish locations for any number of settlers. It is here especially where the African finds health and old age. How many, too, of the first settlers of this country, now grown into a great nation were swept off by disease and the inclemency of the seasons! Did this cause them to relinquish their enterprise? Let not then this objection be further raised.

But will the people of color among us be willing to emigrate? What, I ask, is the burden of their request? You have heard them petition; many such entreaties may be found on our files; the Committee cannot meet the present emergency. We believe that ten thousand would soon be offered if you would provide for them. What! will not Africans return to their native land? Will not those who now find so little sympathy, and who can never here rise to an equality, embrace the offer, when they know that they must remain a degraded race if they continue here? Will they not emigrate and bless the benefactors who shall speed them on their happy way? Make, my friends, the Colony what it may be; offer a home where the emancipated slave may breathe a freer air, and will he choose to remain longer among us? No, indeed! What Douglass has so beautifully said of his countrymen who press to these happy shores, may well be applied to this exiled race, in reference to Africa: "America," says he, "is to modern Europe what the Western Isles were to ancient Greece—the land of aspirations and dreams, the country of daring enterprise and the asylum of misfortune, which receives alike the exile and the adventurer—the discontented and the aspiring, and promises all a freer life and fresher nature. Hordes of emigrants are continually swarming off as ceaseless in the pursuit, and crowded and unreturning as travelers to eternity. Even those who are forced to remain behind feel a melancholy restlessness like a bird whose wing is crippled at the time of migration, and look



forward to America as the land of the departed, where every one has some near relative or dear friend who has gone before him. A voice like that heard before the final ruin of Jerusalem seems to whisper to those who have ears to hear, 'Let us depart hence.' May I add the testimony of one who is deeply affected by the prospect of the African in our land. He is an old navigator; many a time has he doubled the Cape of Good Hope. He believes the proposed scheme of Colonization a practical remedy for all our evils. And though he now enjoys a good situation, and home is endeared to him by the strongest ties, yet he would embark in this glorious cause, and take command of a packet for Liberia, such as has been mentioned. There is then hope amounting even to assurance. Let us not despair; but take courage.

But lately, a reverend clergyman now employed to teach 300 slaves, related to me the following incident, illustrative of the power of conscience over the slave-holder: The master is a benevolent man, but is a disbeliever in Christianity, and he said, "I doubt as to future existence, I may, however, be mistaken, and if so what a dreadful load of responsibility rests on me. These immortal beings, in that case, are destined with myself to a long eternity; all the preparation that can be made must be made here. I will not, I dare not, refuse to teach my slaves the doctrines of the Christian religion as you understand it. Come then and teach them religion, and if you are engaged on the Sabbath come on any day of the week. Take, if you choose, the best day and the best hours." Most of these slaves, I trust, will soon find a home in Liberia.

The question perhaps will here be asked, Are Africans capable of self-government based upon the republican principle? To this I reply, moral not physical causes make the great distinctions of society among a homogeneous population. All are made in the image of God, and fitted to be temples for the Holy Spirit to dwell in. Color or complexion has little to do with the elevation of the human mind, unless the subject is placed under unpropitious influences, is degraded by his station, and checked in all his hopes of advancement.

Look for example at our red brethren. While surrounded here by white men who are educated in the arts and sciences, claiming and exercising a superiority, how degraded does the Indian appear! His hopes all stifled, he seeks sensual gratification only. But look at him in his new home at the West. There he becomes instantly and truly a man; the powers and emoluments of office are his, and his alone. Property is protected and brings influence; he rises daily in his own estimation as well as in that of others. Good laws, order, industry, in short, all that adorns and endears life are his. So of the African; place him under equal advantages. Take the young man before the mind is stunted by discouragement, or the physical constitution enfeebled by the burdens he is forced to carry. Take him and instruct him; let him anticipate all that acquirements, and industry, and courage can secure for the white man, and you will find him no wise inferior. At this moment the Governor of our Colony in Liberia, (Gov. Roberts,) a person of color, is an ornament to the station; a good belles lettres scholar; a diplomatist not surpassed by many white men of the present age. His late correspondence with the commander of Her Britannic Majesty's ships on the coast of Africa, who claim certain rights there within the limits of our Colony, would do honor even to the distinguished statesman who now fills the responsible chair of the State Department in

this country. No one, I am sure, can read that correspondence without feelings of strong and proud satisfaction.

But besides emancipated Africans, our Colony, and these United States, there is, my friends, another class of persons who claim our attention in deciding this great question. Africa—benighted Africa! I refer not now to her advancement in Christianity, but barely to her civilization, to her improvement in agriculture and the arts. We may hope in vain for this improvement until peace is there established. Security to property must precede expenditures of capital or labor. The mind must be made free from the painful apprehension, that the family may be captured while the husband and the father are toiling in the field. While the interior of Africa is convulsed by intestine wars, not for revenge, but from cupidity to obtain human beings upon which to traffic, no amelioration of condition can be expected. Theory itself would teach us this. But, my friends, I have witnessed it all in part in the case of the poor Indian. I have seen the savage exhausted with fatigue, sleeping on his shield, with his bow and arrow in one hand and the war horse fastened to the other by the same lasso with which he was caught, and when I awaked him and asked him to “bore out his ears” to hear my talk, he replied: “The track of the enemy is fresh; look at it; my warriors have fallen; they call upon me for scalps to hang on their graves. I go now to war—when peace is made—when we smoke together, then I will hear you; then I will plant corn.” Yes, my friends, peace must be restored, the horrid slave traffic must cease, before Africa can be civilized; and here let me advert for a moment to this great, all absorbing topic.

The slave trade! mankind condemn it; it has ever been a horrible system, yea even a crime, and has robbed one continent of much of her population, while at the same time it entailed misery upon all who have become connected with it. I said it *has been* a crime, what is it now? Is it over? Oh, no, my friends, would to God that it were! What, however, is the fact? From the best data, from evidence laid before a Committee of the British Parliament, and by them published to the world, it appears that not less than 500,000 human beings in Africa fall annually victims to this traffic. Some perish in capture, some in the middle passage, and some drag out existence in captivity. Yes, 1700 daily. I am wrong; I have not included the Sabbath—there is no day of rest for the slave dealer; he stops not in his cruel career—he has *no Sabbath*. The laws of God and man he regards as naught.

Every day in the year he numbers his victims; it is then 1400 daily. This cause alone has probably already swept off from Africa a far larger number of her children than the whole population of every description in these United States. What an amount of wretchedness and woe. Do you doubt it? What will persuade you? Call upon the mighty deep to give up her dead; call upon those for witness, unsepulchred in the middle passage. The trumpet will one day sound and these must appear as dreaded witnesses against those who have murdered them there. Ask them whence they came; they will tell you, how they were torn from all they loved, how greatly they have suffered, how they were manacled and bruised, how thousands were engulfed in a single hour to lighten the ships so hotly pursued. Hear their separate stories: Oh hear the female captive relate her sad tale of woe and how gladly she embraced the messenger of death which consigned her body to a watery grave, and bore her spirit to a just

and merciful, but till then, an unknown God. Yes! the grave for once is satisfied—it has enough: hear the deep itself exclaim in the hoarse echo of its loud roar, Cruel monster! stay thy hand, crowd me not further; I am already full. Pardon my feelings on this subject. Can man be indifferent to the accumulated woes of a whole continent? Make the case your own. Suppose a ship from Africa was to heave in sight in the Potomac; notice was given for a cargo of slaves, and a high price offered; your relatives, your wives and your children, carried into captivity. Oh, then your lamentations and woe! nor could you cease to weep, thinking of the loved ones torn from you—gone forever. What is the difference in the two cases? simply that in this case, it is the African ship that has made reprisals to supply the ravages which the ships under your flag are daily making. Yes my friends, ships protected by your flag. Oh that foul blot which stains our national banner! Tell me not here of dignity and national honor! Did the track of the enemy lead to your dwellings, had you already lost a part of your children by plunder and robbery, would you, suffer to pass one that was suspected and who was apparently making another approach for the remainder? would you not enquire his name and business, or would you let him pass lest you might injure his feelings, by showing suspicion; especially if he bore any peculiar insignia or carried a certain flag? No you would examine him, perhaps find him loaded with manacles for your family. I love my country's honor; I would not submit to search and imprisonment of her seamen, but I would most cheerfully grant on the suspected coast a reciprocal examination: this boasted land of freedom has applied again and again to foreign nations to aid in suppressing the slave trade. We have been the first to call it *Piracy*, and punish it with death. And now when the nations of Europe respond Amen, let it cease; when they do all that we have asked or desired, shall we hold back? If we do so, let those who suffer the consequences claim not from an injured world the sympathy and forgiveness they may yet need. Let us rather as a nation follow the example of this Society,—line the coast of Africa with colonies; these will be perpetual barriers against the slave dealer. It is as easy to transport thousands to freedom as it is to hurry off yearly 500,000 to death and captivity. A few years only would accomplish the whole work, were the heart of the people given to it. How much better such a preventive, such a remedy, than ships of war whose presence is transient and which still afford opportunity to elude their vigilance.

And what would be the moral change on the coast? Good markets for commerce for the interior; no longer would cupidity and avarice bring the price of blood to purchase the comforts of life. Human hearts would still be given; but only in exchange for the blessings of that holy religion which is offered without money and without price—a purchase above all value—temporal and eternal joys.

I have perhaps my friends detained you too long. Our meeting will soon be closed. You will pursue your wonted vocations and your Committee will return again to their duty. The question now is, Shall they have your advice and assistance? will you share in their burdens? Do you say the times are hard? Is money scarce? Think my friends that the expense of a single public dinner or dance in compliment only to but one of your fellow men has cost more than would relieve our present emergency. Yes the collection for admission at the race ground this past week, for the privilege of seeing what man with whip and spur can make a poor animal do, would

carry the needy Africans now at Norfolk, to their fatherland. The amount paid a foreign dancer for an exhibition of herself among us, would furnish ample means to cheer the hearts of our desponding Colony—and shall the Committee cease to urge their plea? But I must close.

Yet before I set down, let me ask, my Christian friends, why it is, that the white man dies so soon in Africa? why too does the emancipated African die so soon at the north? why does he find no resting place here? Is not the finger of God visible in this? Africa must be regenerated. The colored man is fitted for that climate; God has made it his peculiar land; it is his home. And now should the bondman find his body freed, his sins forgiven, his mind enlightened, he will return to idolatrous Africa, with the injunction of his Divine Master; and may we not hope that a happy day is soon to dawn on that long abused, benighted people. You and I cannot go to teach them, our lives would soon be sacrificed, but we can send him and shall he not go? My friends I come not a beggar for your charity; you know your duty—consult your own consciences. Take the subject, fellow Christians, to your closets and there inquire of God who seeth our hearts what you ought to do. Our talents are borrowed; we are only stewards, and shall soon be called to our final account. We are debtors and no credit can be entered for us beyond the grave. If we look on our estates, we cannot regard them in fee simple to us and our heirs forever. God has written on our titles, a stewardship only—a tenantry at will. Riches take to themselves wings and fly away. What was called ours yesterday is another's to-day—to-morrow it may be still another's. Happy for us that “we need but little here, nor need that little long.” I said I came not before you a beggar; I will however implore for our poor colony—for wretched Africa, for her sons and daughters wherever they may be, for our poor Society, and for your humble Committee whose hearts are wrung from day to day by the urgency of the miserable and wretched, I will and do implore what you can so easily bestow, and what I know you will not withhold—your prayers.

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#### THE CAUSE RISING.

THE whole nation begins to be moved on the subject of African Colonization. An invisible, and as we believe, an Almighty Power, is working mightily for the redemption of Africa from the barbarism and bondage of ages, through the efforts of her own children. The conviction is almost universal, that the slave trade must be suppressed, and that this can be done only, by the civilization of her people, and the development of her resources, and that the principal agents in the work must be her own children, returned after their long exile to her territories instructed and elevated by the knowledge of our arts and liberty, and enlightened by Christianity. The recent Convention of the friends of the American Colonization Society, in this city was of the highest importance, and the policy which it adopted of very comprehensive philanthropy. The design is to awaken the nation to exertions in aid of the enterprize which our free people of color, and such as may become free are accomplishing in the establishment in Africa of free States and the Church of God. There is gathering

around the settlements of Liberia, in the view of an unperturbed reason, an interest equal, if not superior, to that which encircled the colonies of Plymouth and Jamestown.

We have recently attended, five public meetings in the city of Philadelphia, one in Newark, New Jersey, one in the city of New York, several in Boston, and one in Andover, and the indications are clear of new life and energy in the cause. The best and wisest men are prepared to avow their belief in the magnitude and beneficence of the scheme, and that the time has arrived when the clergy of every Christian name, the respective State Legislatures, and the General Government, each in their appropriate sphere, should give a vigorous support to the Colonization of Africa. The eyes not only of this country, but of all Europe are directed to the atrocities of the African slave trade. The commerce of Africa is rapidly increasing in value and extent, and attracting general attention. The Federal Government should see not only that we perform our part for the suppression of the worst traffic which ever existed, but that the best advantages enjoyed by any nation, should be secured to our lawful traders upon the coast of Africa, who while advancing their own interests, and opening a market for our manufactures, are inviting the African people to humane arts, to agriculture, and other innocent and peaceful employments.

The meetings to which we have alluded, have been animated and encouraged by the statements of Mr. Zion Harris, who after a residence of twelve years in Liberia, returned some months ago, to his native State of Tennessee, in order to inform his relatives of the condition of things in that colony, and to invite them to accompany him to Africa. Mr. Harris has visited all the settlements, and become intimately acquainted with many native tribes, and he shows beyond doubt, the great impression already made by the colonists upon the barbarism of that land, and how certainly its influence is extending beneficially for the overthrow of the slave trade, the protection and instruction of the Africans, and their conversion to Christianity. The testimony of Dr. James Brown, a colored Physician who has been several years in Liberia, and who accompanies Mr. Harris on his return, has been of great benefit in various places, particularly in the West to the cause.

To enable the Society to defray the expenses of the expedition of more than two hundred emigrants, (at least half liberated slaves,) that are to sail in a few days for Liberia, the appeal is made for contributions, and the hope is cherished that the clergy, generally, throughout the Union, will call the attention of their people to the urgent wants of the Society, and that collections will be made in the Churches of all denominations on or about the Fourth of July.

## DEPARTURE OF THE MARIPOSA.

THIS fine ship, with a select and very intelligent and religious body of emigrants is about to sail from Norfolk for Liberia. A more promising expedition never left the United States for Africa. Some details in regard to this company, we shall give in our next number. In the mean time, we feel it due to Mr. McDonogh, who has sent more than eighty of his slaves, amply supplied with means of settlement in Liberia, to give insertion to the following articles which appear in one of the New Orleans papers.

*From the New Orleans Commercial Bulletin of the 20th June, 1842.*

[COMMUNICATED]

*Mr. Editor:* Now that the slaves of Mr. McDonogh have sailed for Africa, I would be glad to know from him (if my request is not presumptuous) through you (at the same time that I acknowledge the generosity of his conduct towards them) whether he does not think the slaves he has sent away would have been more happy to have been freed and left here with us. Acquainted as I am with many of his slaves, their good, orderly and moral character, and qualities as mechanics of various trades, I consider that the city has sustained a public loss in having them sent away. The public, as well as myself, would be gratified, I am sure, in knowing his motives, and whether he is opposed to slavery. I am, sir, one of your

SUBSCRIBERS.

*From the New Orleans, Commercial Bulletin of the 24th June, 1842.*

MR. EDITOR:—A writer in your paper of Monday, the 20th instant, has addressed me under the signature of “a Subscriber,” certain inquiries, to which, (as I have no objection to the public’s knowing my opinion and motives) I beg leave to answer—but before doing that, I will take the liberty of asking the gentleman himself a question, viz:—what is the impulsive cause in man, to a life of virtue and good works, and whether it is, or is not, the expectation of reward here, in this world, as well as hereafter. For the command and promise is “Be thou faithful until death, and I will give thee a crown of life.” If he answers this in the affirmative, I would then inquire of him whether he would refuse to his fellow man (though of a black skin) after services faithfully rendered through a long period of time by day and by night, and meritorious lives in every respect, that recompense of reward which he himself expects, and looks forward to receive, for similar conduct. I am asked, “if I am opposed to slavery.” If the gentleman querist has a gang of people, of good habits and moral character to sell me, at a fair price, he will soon discover in my purchase of them, that I am not opposed to it—besides, I have sent away but a part of my black people; (that part of them sent away by me, were *all*, every individual, who had faithfully served me previous to a certain time; those whom I have purchased since that period, I have retained with me, and not sent away; nor have I freed by any act of mine, one of those whom I have sent away—(our laws did not permit me to do it) so long therefore, as they remain on board the ship which transported them, they remain in slavery; but the instant their feet touch the soil of their father-land, and they remain there, they are free as the air they breathe. I further declare, Mr. Editor, that I would never give freedom to a slave (did our laws even permit it) to remain on the same soil with the white man, (but separate the two races, by sending the black man to his own land, and I will assist with heart and hand in the enterprise)—for the time is not far distant when the only safety for the life of the black man, in this land, will be the protecting care of his master. To send the black man away then from our country, is humanity to both races; as to their happiness in their father-land, there can be no question of that, with habits of industry and order—for Africa is the finest portion of the earth.

I will now only observe that the act of sending these people away, is, in my case, one of simple honesty alone. I lay no claim, nor am entitled to any credit, or praise, on the score of generosity. My meaning in the above assertion I will explain, Mr. Editor, through your paper, should my time admit of it, for I have none to spare, growing old, as I am, my labors requiring 15 to 19 hours out of the 24,) at some future time; and the rather as it may perhaps be of service to the slave-holders of the State to know how one who has had much to do, for forty years past, with the treatment of slaves, has succeeded in it.—When they find, from my experience, that they can send their whole gangs to Africa every 15 years, without the cost of a dollar to themselves, what master will refuse to do so much good, when it will cost him nothing in the doing it, and afford him at the same time such high gratification in knowing that he has contributed to the making many human beings happy. For my experience will show, that with a proper treatment of slaves, the gain from their extra labor, (that is, labor over

and above that which slaves in general yield (their owners,) in the course of that time, say fifteen years, will enable their masters to send them out, and purchase in Virginia or Maryland, (with the gain made from said extra labor,) a gang of equal number to replace them. In addition to which, what an amount of satisfaction (I would ask every humane master) would he not enjoy, in knowing that he was surrounded by friends, on whose faithfulness and fidelity he and his family could rely, under every possible contingency.

I am respectfully, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN McDONOGH.

Macdonogh, opposite New Orleans, June 23d, 1842,

HEALTH OF LIBERIA.--The following is a verbatim copy of a letter from Dr. McGill, without the substitution or omission of a single word. Here then is the production of one who was twelve years since a little 'nigger boy' knocking about the streets of Baltimore, and a fair candidate for the barber shop or hostlery. He is now acknowledged as the most successful physician that ever practiced on the coast of Africa, and it will be seen that he has most successfully grappled with that bug-bear, the African coast fever. Let nothing more be said of the unhealthiness of Cape Palmas, when in the most unhealthy season that ever was known there, from the prevalence of an epidemic dysentery, the mortality is not so great as that of the free colored population in Baltimore in ordinary times. This letter alone, taking into consideration the change in the character of the writer, ought to silence forever the malignant aspersions of the open enemies of colonization and the whining Jeremiahs of its professed friends.—*Maryland Colonization Journal*.

HARPER, January 1, 1842.

JOHN H. B. LATROBE, Esq. Pres't. Md. State Col. Society.

Honored Sir: The expected arrival of a vessel from the United States at an early period, induces me to prepare the report of the health of our colony during the year 1841.

Up to the month of June, there were not many fatal cases of disease; from that period and until the termination of the year I regret to say that the number on the sick list have been large, and an unusual number have died. On a reference to the following list you will discover that the ages and complaints of several, fully account for their decease, and to this I may add yet another cause, in my being so much reduced in my stock of medicines, that suitable articles could not be had to treat them with. Of this I have heretofore written, and as I hope at an early period to receive a fresh supply, the present year will likely produce more favorable results.

Deaths in Cape Palmas during the year ending Nov. 1841.

Names.	Age.	Disease.
1. Cleopatra McGill,	14	Phthisic Pulmonalus.
2. William Reynolds,	40	Dropsy.
3. Jane Wilson,	25	Pleuro-Splenitis.
4. Ezekial Harrington,	42	Chronic Pleuritis.
5. Mary Hobbs,	40	do. do.
6. Frank Barns,	80	Erysipelas Gangrenosum.
7. Paul Saunsey, Sr.	79	Yellow Fever.
8. Henry Johnson,	63	Epistaxis.
9. Jas. Hall Russworm,	5	
10. Nathl. Edmonson,	80	Putrid Sore Throat.
11. Elizabeth Spriggs,	68	Dysentery.
12. Psyche Martin,	57	do.
13. Charles Jennings,	22	do.
14. James Steward,	29	Phthisic Pulmonalis.
15. David James,	10	Dropsy.
16. Phereby Jackson,	40	Superial Peritonitis.

Deaths, Total 16.

Births in Cape Palmas during the year ending Nov. 1841.

Mrs. Chas. Harman,	1
Mrs. Brooks,	1
Priscilla Young,	1
Mrs. Jas. Briscoe,	1
Mrs. Donaldson,	1
Mrs. Neal,	1
Mrs. H. Harman,	1
Mrs. John Banks,	1
Mrs. Molton,	1
Mrs. James Payne,	1
Mrs. Wood,	1
Mrs. G. R. McGill,	1
Mrs. J. B. Russworm,	1
Mrs. John Harris,	1
Sylvia Lee,	1
Mrs. Robert Scotland,	1
Mrs. Simpson,	1
Mrs. Geo. Hardy,	1
Mrs. Emanuel Davenport,	1
Mrs. Benj. Tubman,	1
Mrs. Maria Contee,	1
Mrs. Shadrach Tubman,	1
Mrs. Jacob Tubman,	1

Births, Total 23

In the months of September and October of last year, our colony was visited with an epidemic dysentery, during the period of its prevalence fifty-three individuals were seized with it. Fourteen of this number labored under the disease in its most severe form. The natives who reside near our settlement, were from some unknown cause exempt from the disease; but in 1840 when the disease existed, the natives alone, in Cape Palmas, were the subjects of it. To the windward, at Fish Town, it raged with great violence, carrying off ten and twelve a week; at Grahway and Cavally it was equally severe. To the leeward as far as the Gold Coast, we have heard of its existence and its terrible fatality.

You have been from time to time apprised of the number of cases of chronic disease that come under my notice, such were the cases of Reynolds, Harrington, Hobb, Wilson and Steward. For the cure of such cases my labor is spent in vain; although they have all the care that could possibly be rendered, yet without a change of climate and habits they cannot recover.

Notwithstanding the unusually large number of deaths, you will discover that there has still been an increase in the colony. The children are generally hearty and robust; far more so than before my arrival in the colony. A foolish notion once existed that an infant must eat of all substances of which the mother partook in their crude state; the consequence was that they sickened and died. Since my arrival nearly all have been induced to feed them on milk alone, so that now we can defy the world for the production of a more sleek and thriving set of children. I could not conveniently ascertain the sex of each infant, but think that there is a majority of females.

*March 24th, 1842.*

As the mortality, caused by the African fever, has been held up by the opponents of colonization as an objection to emigration to the coast, I have thought that the accompanying table might prove an acceptable means of overthrowing their pre-conceived prejudice, and might prove an assurance to those who would desire to emigrate, but for its existence. In one of my communications nearly two years ago, you were informed that out of the brig Boxer's passengers, thirty-six in number, two infants only died with the fever; and that I thought a plan might be adopted by which its fatality even to this extent might be diminished. Now I am happy to say that so far I have not been mistaken; the proofs of the success of my labors are in the perfect restoration of the entire number of passengers sent out by the brig Harriet in February 1842.

The table will show the arrival of thirty-two individuals in the colony since the commencement of the present year. Not one out of this number escaped the fever, nor have we lost one. In from two to six weeks after their arrival each one was attacked, and on or about the 15th March, every one was convalescent.

The table speaks for itself, and if doubts exist, I presume the different persons there enumerated are willing to give proofs of their existence.

Since I have been in charge of the medical affairs of the colony, only three persons have died with the African coast fever, viz: the two children in 1840, and the Rev. Mr. Alward, missionary. During this time I have attended eight captains and seamen of European and American vessels, and six missionaries, all whites, besides the eight whose names stand in the list.

After the above proofs of success, I feel warranted in believing that the same results will attend our future exertions for the relief of such as labor under this complaint. I am of the opinion that when our terror of this formidable disease is removed by the skillful administration of remedies, that one great objection to a residence in the colony will be set aside. When we prove that Liberia is not the modern Golgotha, represented by her opponents, certainly objections can no longer be raised on that ground against emigration. (*See table next page.*)

Nearly every case treated has been the subject of a second attack, much milder in its form than the first, and never fatal with such as I have attended. Many persons suppose that the greatest danger is to be apprehended from this 'second attack,' relapse, (or whatever name may be applied to it,) and possibly there may be, where the patient has been previously exhausted by purgatives and blood-letting, but thanks to the kindness of Dr. Hall, I have long since abolished this injurious system, consequently do not often have debility to contend with, the result of improper medication.

It is with sorrow that I am compelled to announce the death of Mr. Revey, after a protracted illness of more than one year. He was never of a sound constitution, and was in the early part of last year attacked with the dysentery; from this and its complications he never perfectly recovered. In November last distinct evidences of hepatic dis-



ease developed themselves; from that time until the period of his death, (March 16,) he slowly declined. In losing him we have parted with one of the best and most useful men in our Colony; it is indeed very questionable whether his place can be supplied by any one in Africa.

*Immigrants per Brig Harriet, January 30, 1842.*

Names.	Ages.	Period of attack.	After arrival.	Grade of fever.	Period of confinement.
* 1. Rachel Green,	40 years.	Feb. 16	17 days.	severe,	10 days.
* 2. Clarissa Green,	16 "	" 24	25 "	mild,	6 "
* 3. Ann Green,	15 "	" 23	24 "	severe,	7 "
* 4. Sarah Green,	14 "	" 22	23 "	mild,	4 "
* 5. Emeline Green,	13 "	" 22	23 "	severe,	8 "
* 6. Amelia Green,	10 "	" 26	27 "	"	8 "
* 7. John Green,	6 "	" 18	19 "	mild,	2 "
* 8. Mahala Green,	3 "	" 16	17 "	severe,	9 "
* 9. William Green,	5 mos.	" 19	20 "	mild,	4 "
*10. Eliza Ann Green,	4 "	" 18	19 "	severe,	8 "
*11. Harriet Lee,	25 years.	" 27	28 "	"	7 "
*12. Frederick Lee,	8 "	" 17	18 "	mild,	3 "
*13. Edmund Lee,	6 "	" 27	28 "	severe,	6 "
*14. Jessie Ann Lee,	3 "	March 6	35 "	"	10 "
*15. Nath. Wilder,	24 "	Feb. 21	22 "	"	6 "
*16. Alfred Wilder,	24 "	" 23	24 "	mild,	3 "
*17. Thomas Wilder,	22 "	" 19	20 "	"	1 "
*18. Henry Wilder,	20 "	" 25	26 "	severe,	10 "
*19. Thos. McFarland,	50 "	" 25	26 "	mild,	2 "
*20. Phoebe McFarland,	42 "	" 25	26 "	"	5 "
*21. James McFarland,	17 "	" 19	20 "	severe,	8 "
*22. Eliza McFarland,	16 "	" 19	20 "	mild,	1 "
*23. Sandy McFarland,	15 "	" 13	14 "	severe,	11 "
*24. Thos. F. Mills,	40 "	" 19	20 "	"	3 "
<i>Missionaries arrived in the Harriet.</i>					
*25. Rev. Dr. Barron,	} Roman Catholic,	" 17	18 "	"	14 "
*26. Rev. Jno. Kelly,		March 12	41 "	mild,	6 "
*27. Mr. Dennis Pindar		" 2	31 "	severe,	7 "
<i>Missionaries arrived in Feb. 3, 1842.</i>					
*28. Rev. Mr. Walker,	} A. B. C. F. M.	Feb. 24	21 "	mild,	5 "
*29. Mrs. Walker,		March 3	28 "	"	7 "
*30. Rev. Mr. Griswold,		" 4	29 "	"	6 "
*31. Rev. Mr. Sawyer,		} Kroo Mission.	"	"	"
*32. Mrs. Sawyer,	"		"	severe,	25 "

\*Individuals who have had the second attack.

Mr. Revey was born in the state of New York. He embarked for Africa in 1819, in the first vessel that sailed with emigrants. He was then only seventeen years of age, had a very imperfect education, and could assign no other reason for leaving his father and family than a disposition to roam.

He was among the number who landed at Sherbro, witnessed the deaths of all the managers and nearly all the settlers, and was among those who abandoned the settlement. From Sherbro he went to Sierra Leone; was very studious and qualified himself for the situation of a clerk in a respectable mercantile house. While thus employed he made many trading excursions into the interior. In 1828, he removed from Sierra Leone to Monrovia. From the time of his arrival in Monrovia to that of his removal to this place in 1838, his whole time seems to have been devoted to gaining a knowledge of letters, and to impart the knowledge gained to others. He was successively missionary to the Veys, high sheriff of Liberia, public surveyor and a manager of public schools. About three or four years ago he was ordained a minister of the Baptist church.

He accompanied Mr. Russwurm to Cape Palmas, and filled the office of colonial secretary with credit. Whilst thus engaged he established the first Baptist church in this place, and up to the period of his death performed the duties of pastor. These duties were attended with no small degree of trouble and expense. His disconnexion with any missionary society, rendered it necessary for him often to draw on his own scanty means

for the relief of the poor and distressed members of his church. Connected with his church is a Sabbath school, which he attended regularly. He was repeatedly offered employment under the Baptist missionaries in Africa; these offers were steadily declined on the ground that he had settled in Africa with a view to the elevation of his race, and he felt it a duty to use every effort both civil and religious to accomplish this end. The appointment of a colored governor in this place was the principal cause of his removal from Monrovia, so that by his labors he might support this praiseworthy and judicious appointment. He thought that the labors of missionaries should commence among such *half civilized beings* who are sent from *enlightened* America to the colonies, and from them should extend to the heathen. Influenced by such principles he attended to his official duties as secretary, and devoted those moments which are generally taken as a relaxation from business to offices of a higher and more benevolent character. For this course our friend deserves the greatest credit, as it is indeed rare that our colonists have sufficient independence or patriotism to reject the apparently easy life of a missionary. The most promising and intelligent of our colonists are eagerly sought after to become mere assistants; and I am sorry to say they too often embrace such offers, under a full knowledge that they are destined to become the mere tools of others. The limits of this letter will not admit of my writing more on this subject, more than to say that all classes in this community regret the death of this truly amiable and Christian man. His ruling passion was to do good, to accomplish which his labors were incessant, and in many cases gratuitous. He was unassuming and mild in his manners and address, and possessed such a fund of intelligence that he could adapt himself to all circumstances and occasions. On a character so highly respected and endeared to Liberians it would be grateful to enlarge, but we can add nothing to the knowledge already possessed in his commendation; our silent admiration is perhaps the most eloquent and efficient praise.

As you will receive full communications from Governor Russwurm, I thought it unnecessary for me to say any thing of our colonial affairs.

With sentiments of the highest respect,

I remain your obedient servant,

SAMUEL F. MCGILL, *Col. Physician.*

### CONTRIBUTIONS to the *Pennsylvania Colonization Society*, from *May 26th, to June 14th, 1842, inclusive.*

May 26th, Received of A. Robertson, Esq., 4th annual subscription, \$100,		
A Lady, donation, \$20, C. Shrack, \$10, Miss C. Hamilton, \$2,		
A Friend a mite, \$1,		133 00
June 6th, Hugh Rowland's collections from various persons at <i>McKeesport,</i>		
<i>Pennsylvania,</i>		3 00
Per Rev. Mr. McDonald, <i>Marrietta, Ohio,</i> Hopewell church, \$7,		
Somerset church, \$4,		11 00
" 7th, Public collection in 6th Presbyterian church, per Rev. Mr. Jones,		46 32
" 9th, From Mr. McMullin,		1 00
" 10th, "A Friend," a Lady,		5 00
" 11th, John Parker, Esq., of Carlisle, donation, \$5, Moses Johnson,		
Esq., \$25, Levi Dickson, Esq., \$25, public collection in German-		
town, \$3 38,		58 38
Total,		\$257 70

### CONTRIBUTIONS to, and receipts by, the *American Colonization Society*, from the 24th May, to the 24th June, 1842.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Collections by Rev. Reuben Porter :

G. A. Sterritt \$5, D. W. Boker and N. Bruce, each \$2, Friend \$1,		
W. Bruce 50 cts., Collections \$1 20,		11 70 11 70

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

Collections by Rev. D. K. Davis :

<i>Northampton,</i> Rev. J. Hopkins, Dr. L. S. Hopkins, each \$5,		10 00 10 00
<i>Hadley,</i> Dr. William Porter \$5, Dr. Woodbridge \$2, Deacon W. Dick-		21 70

inson \$3 50, Hon. Charles P. Phelps \$5, donations from many \$14,	29 50	
<i>North Hadley</i> , Donations,	-	7 00
<i>South Hadley</i> , Donations,	-	6 00
<i>Hatfield</i> , (Oliver Smith, Esq., to constitute the Rev. H. Neil a Life Member, acknowledged in last number, \$30,) Austin Smith \$5, Collections from several \$8,	-	13 00
<i>Amherst</i> , Dr. Humphrey \$2, donation \$1, Rev. E. S. Snell \$5, Rev. W. S. Taylor \$2, General Mack, Luke Sweetser, Esq., each \$5, Wm. Tyler \$3, donations from several \$5,	-	28 00
<i>Springfield</i> , J. Warriner \$5, donations from many \$21, C. Stearns \$10, Mrs. P. Howard \$9, J. Howard, Esq. \$5, S. Sanborn, Esq. \$10, Miss H. Stebbins, per Hon. Wm. B. Calhoun, \$5,	-	65 00
<i>Monson</i> , Deacon A. Porter \$10, Dr. A. Ely \$5, Donation \$2, L. A. Lyon \$3, donations \$3, Sarah Flint \$2,	-	25 00
<i>West Springfield</i> , J. Ely's annual subscription,	-	10 00
<i>Longmeadow</i> , Charles Ely \$3 50, donations, \$3 25	-	6 75
<i>Westfield</i> , Rev. Isaac Knapp, \$2, E. Talmadge \$1 50,	-	3 50
<i>Williamsburg</i> , E. Hubbard, Esq. and Dr. D. Collins each \$3 50, donations from several, \$4,	-	11 00
Collections by Rev. Reuben Porter :		
<i>North Andover</i> , Isaac Osgood \$5, G. Hodges, Lucy Osgood, N. Stephens, each \$2, E. Stephens \$1,	-	12 00 226 75

## CONNECTICUT.

<i>Hartford</i> , Hon. T. Williams \$20, donations from several, \$27,	-	47 00
<i>Suffield</i> , Dea. C. Sherman \$5, donations, \$3 50,	-	8 50 55 50

## NEW-JERSEY.

Collections by Rev. William Wallace :		
<i>Beachspring</i> , Collections,	-	3 00
<i>New Athens</i> ,	-	24 00
<i>Nottingham</i> ,	-	6 25
<i>Moorefield</i> ,	-	2 00
<i>Sugar Creek</i> ,	-	18 90
<i>Greenville</i> ,	-	1 00
<i>Apple Creek</i> ,	-	18 00
<i>Keene</i> ,	-	12 00
<i>Coshocton</i> , G. W. Silliman \$5, W. R. Johnson, \$3 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ,	-	8 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Senecasville</i> ,	-	1 50
<i>St. Clairsville</i> , Rev. J. Alexander, \$5, others, \$5 25,	-	10 25
<i>Stuebenville</i> , M. H. Wilson \$10, Rev. J. W. Scott \$5, J. Harris of Canton \$3, Rev. C. C. Beatty \$10, J. Mears \$5, Rev. J. Chambers \$1, Hon. M. Leavitt \$1,	-	35 00
<i>Smithfield</i> ,	-	8 43
Hon. J. F. Randolph, per J. F. Polk,	-	5 00 153 45

## PENNSYLVANIA.

<i>Easton</i> , John Cooper, Esq., in part to constitute the Rev. Barnard C. Wolf a life member,	-	15 00 15 00
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## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

<i>Washington</i> , J. F. Caldwell, Esq. \$5, collections made in the Unitarian Church, Rev. Mr. Bulfinch, \$38, Rev. Peter Parker, Missionary to China, \$45, Robert B. Riel, Esq., \$5, by A. Coyle, Esq., \$25, Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, \$25,	-	143 00
<i>Alexandria</i> , Collections in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. Mr. McCarty, \$36 37,	-	36 37 179 37

## VIRGINIA.

<i>Richmond</i> , Richmond Colonization Society by the hand of B. Brand, Esq., 89,	-	89 00 89 00
<i>Winchester</i> , One hundred and sixteen dollars 51 cts., a Collection in Millwood Church, Rev. William Jones, pastor, paid to the agent of the Society, by the Rev. James McPhail, 29th of July, 1840, <i>not before specifically acknowledged</i> ,	-	-

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

<i>Louisville</i> , William Moffitt, Esq., \$20	-	20 00
<i>Vance's Ferry St. Matthews</i> , Legacy by Thomas Blackledge, Esq., to enable the Society to colonize thirteen of his manumitted people in Africa,	-	1,100 00 1,120 00

## OHIO.

Collections by Rev. L. G. Olmstead :

<i>Cambridge</i> , M. Thompson, M. Garton, W. Hutchinson, each \$1 00, Cash 80c., C. J. Albright 50c., W. W. Tracy 50c., E. Smith, 25c., J. N. Rogers 25c., Abbott, 25c., J. W. Patwin 25c., J. Waller 87½ J. W. Medly 37½c., Rev. T. W. Howe 50c., - - - - -	7 55
<i>Columbus</i> , J. N. Whiting, Dr. Goodale, each \$5, N. L. Lanson, Rob't. Neil, each \$3, James Hoge, W. Chapin, T. Moodie, each \$2, Cash \$6 20, W. Chapin, Mr. Penniman, A. Backus, Mr. Hubbard, each, \$1, W. Kelsey \$1 50, J. Gruno 50c., - - - - -	34 20
<i>Hillsboro'</i> , Rev. W. McReynolds, Treas. of Col. Society, \$15, Miss L. Beall, Miss M. Beall, Miss M. Harbison, Miss M. Foster, Miss J. Pancake, Miss J. Walling, Miss Hester, Dr. Burin, Miss H. Hop- kins, Mrs. L. C. Beall, John Barry, David Miller, John Dill, W. P. Ins- keep, Dr. C. C. Sams, Dr. J. M. Johnson, each, \$1, Miss Susan Phillips 50c., - - - - -	31 50
<i>Wilmington</i> , S. H. Hale, J. Morris, L. Fitzhugh, A. E. Strickle, G. Foot, each \$1, M. H. Johnson, L. Shepherd, each 50c., - - - - -	6 00
<i>Chillicothe</i> , R. G. Wilson, D. D. \$14, Mr. Creighton \$5, Thomas Orr, George Kenwick, S. Wesson, each \$3, W. B. Franklin, Cash, each \$2, J. Evans, J. Douglass, Mrs. Wesson, Mrs. F. Wesson, John Madura, Mrs. Reeves, Mrs. Latham, R. M. Dana, W. Waddle, Joseph Still, R. Douglass, Miss Marshall, each \$1, George Armstrong, 50 cts., Mr. C. Church, 87c., - - - - -	45 37 124 62

## TENNESSEE.

<i>Bluntsville</i> , S. Rhea, Esq., to colonize six of his manumitted people in Africa, - - - - -	300 00
<i>Jonesborough</i> , Legacy of J. Stephenson, Esq. to colonize five of his manumitted people in Africa, - - - - -	300 00 600 00
Total,	<u>\$2,575 39</u>

## FOR REPOSITORY.

MAINE.— <i>South Dover</i> , Mr. Charles W. Wilder, for '42, \$3, <i>Williamsburg</i> , Miss Lydia G. Wilder, for '43, \$4 50, - - - - -	7 50
MASSACHUSETTS.—Elisha Hubbard, for '42, \$1 50, David Collins, for '42, \$1 50; <i>Hadley</i> , Wm. Dickinson, for '42, \$1 50, Dr. W. Porter, for '42, \$1 50, <i>Longmeadow</i> , Charles Fly, for '42, \$1 50, Dr. A. Ely, for '42, \$1 50; <i>West-</i> <i>field</i> , E. G. Talmadge, for '42, \$1 50, D. H. Merriam, for '43, \$1 50, Miss Sarah Flint, for '41 \$1 50; <i>Charlestown</i> , James Adams, for '42, \$1 50, -	15 00
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Total,	<u>2,640 39</u>

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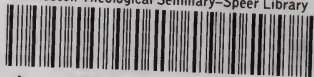


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